



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



BEQUEST OF
ARTHUR LYON CROSS
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH HISTORY
TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
1940

IA
460
.I92



Portrait of

A. de la Roche

*Portrait of a man in armor
and a ruff collar
called to the notice of England, 1670*



The Rev. Hon. The Lord Bury
with the Author's best respects and grateful
recollection of former days.
Dungannon, Arthur Hill-Trevor, 3d vicar
THE

LIFE AND TIMES
OF
WILLIAM THE THIRD,

KING OF ENGLAND, AND STADTHOLDER
OF HOLLAND.

BY THE
HON. ARTHUR TREVOR, M.A. F.A.S. M.R.S.L.
OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.



FROM A SILVER MEDAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LATE REV. JOHN LANGHAM DAYRELL,
RECTOR OF LILLINGSTONE DAYRELL, AND VICAR OF STOWE, SUCKA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMAN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1835.

LONDON :
Printed by A. SPERRISWOOD,
New-Street-Square.

BEQUEST OF
A. L. CROSS
9-8-91
2V.

TO
THE REV. EDWARD NARES, D.D.
RECTOR OF BIDDENDEN, KENT,
AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is with feelings of no ordinary pride and satisfaction, that I am enabled to introduce this volume to the Public under the auspices of the Author of the Life of Lord Burleigh.

I cannot, indeed, pretend to expect that a name equally known and admired in the Historic and Theological World, a name, too, gratefully remembered by the votaries of Literature in its lighter and more amusing form, will prove any protection against the criticisms to which inaccuracies or want of ability may have justly exposed me; but I trust I shall not incur the charge of presumption, in expressing a confident hope that the permission conceded in so flattering a manner, would at once have been withheld,

MS. 14-41-9
3

did you not feel convinced that I had endeavoured to maintain, consistently with the impartiality which becomes the historian, a steady adherence to those principles, civil and religious, so nobly upheld when beset with danger, in that hallowed seat of learning, of which you are a distinguished ornament, and which I regard with filial reverence.

Such an assurance, while it robs sarcasm of its sting, will encourage me to face with comparative boldness the fearful ordeal of public opinion.

That you may long be spared to aid, by your exertions, the cause of sound religion and useful learning, is the heartfelt and anxious wish and prayer of,

My dear Sir,

Your much obliged and faithful Servant,

ARTHUR TREVOR.

Wicken Park,
near Stoney Stratford,
Northamptonshire,
June 1. 1835.

PREFACE.

IN venturing to lay before the Public any account of a period of history so interesting as that of William III., I am well aware of the difficulty of the subject, as well as my own inadequacy to do it justice. Whether we consider William, like his illustrious ancestor, as the saviour of Holland, the champion of the Protestant cause, or the continued and unwearied opponent of the gigantic power and reckless ambition of Louis XIV. of France, his intimate connection with the great events and most celebrated men of that remarkable æra, cannot fail to enhance the reputation of a name long before enrolled in the annals of all that was glorious and great.

That it was a crisis most important as regarded not only the destinies of England, but of civilised Europe at large, few will pretend to dispute; nor can it be denied that the occurrences of that time gave rise to some, and added strength to many, opinions and prejudices, which have continued in a greater or less degree to be upheld to the present day, not unfrequently driving the partisan of one and the other into extremes, between which it becomes more desirable than easy to steer an impartial course.

The time of William III. will be alluded to by some as of glorious memory ; by others, as now become obsolete, inapplicable to present times, and ill suited to public feeling. Both are as much in error as, it is apprehended, they are essentially ignorant of the real causes which led to the memorable Revolution of 1688, and thus established on a secure basis those institutions, that purity of religious worship, that constitutional freedom, the pride and glory of England, but which, in their attempt to imitate the moral weakness of other nations, has invariably caused them to fail.

Still, however triumphant their final result, there is much in the history of those celebrated events to cause no feeling save that of regret. The necessity of raising the standard against legitimate Monarchy is always to be deplored, and the most sacred duty can alone render such a step matter of justification. That the purest, the most hallowed of motives swayed that peculiar body in the State, on whom it is but too much the custom of modern sarcasm to cast its ill-timed and unmerited aspersion, the most prejudiced writer cannot with justice dispute : no sordid or narrow-minded feeling, no selfish object of interest or aggrandisement, dictated their course ; they tendered their allegiance to a higher and holier power, and to their constancy and courage History cannot fail to offer a tribute alike noble and affecting.

Under an impression that an abstract narration of a period which cannot fail to interest, more

especially at the present moment, every one attached to that cause and those institutions, for the security of which the Prince of Orange landed on our shores, and the illustrious House of Hanover now sways the sceptre of England, might possibly convey some useful information upon a subject respecting which superficial inquiry has too frequently only been made, I now venture to lay before the public the First Volume of the Life of William III., commencing from his birth and early history, and ending with his accession to the Throne of these realms ; and while I am fully sensible that such a task ought to have devolved on abler hands, I still venture to hope that some small share of approbation may cheer me on in the labours which will for a considerable period to come occupy my chief and anxious attention.

M. de Ge

Je suis venu en ce Royaume
 au desir de cette Nation pour
 La sauver de ruine. Et pour
 preserver vostre Religion vos
 Loix Et Libertez. Et pour ce sujet
 j'ay este obligé de soustenir
 une Langue Et de presenter

gentre

Grand

Le bon Dieu de venir vos deliberations
 Et de vous inspirer ce que est
 necessaire pour le bien Et la
 serapete du Royaume.

William R

L I F E
OF
K I N G W I L L I A M I I I.

INTRODUCTION.

ORIGIN OF THE HOUSE OF NASSAU.

PREVIOUSLY to entering upon the history of a period so important and interesting as that in which the whole life of **WILLIAM III.** was passed,—a period replete with events as striking and remarkable as the celebrity and renown of the persons most prominently engaged in them, — it may be necessary to give some account of the illustrious house of Nassau, destined as it was, through a series of generations, and a successive race of heroes and statesmen, to appear foremost in the scene of European contentions, whether religious or political.

The house of Nassau may be considered the most ancient and noble in Germany. Historians deduce the name from one Nassau, who, according to Julius Cæsar, with his brother Cimberius, led a

body of Germans out of Suabia, and settled on the banks of the Rhine, at Triers; certain it is that an estate, on that very spot of ground, belonged to the family within the last century: unquestionably its antiquity has been established by an uninterrupted succession of several centuries; and its nobility, by the imperial dignity having been vested in the person of Adolphus of Nassau, the successor of Rodolph of Hapsburg.

Otho, Count of Nassau, who lived about seven hundred years ago, had two wives: the first brought him in marriage the country of Guelderland, the second the province of Zutphen, which remained for above three centuries in the possession of his house. About the expiration of that period, another Count Otho married the Countess of Vianden, the heiress of considerable territories in the Low Countries.

His grandson Engelbert, the first of that name, Count of Nassau, espoused the heiress of Loeke and Breda, in 1404, and was grandfather to Engelbert II. of Nassau, a prince equally celebrated in war and in politics: he won the battle of Guinegate, suppressed the rebellion at Bruges, and was governor-general of the Low Countries for the Emperor Maximilian I. He died without issue, leaving to his brother John of Nassau the inheritance of all his possessions.

This Count John had two sons, Henry and William: to Henry, the eldest, he bequeathed his territories in the Low Countries; to William, his

domains in Germany. It was to this Henry of Nassau that Charles V. was in no small degree beholden for his advancement to the imperial dignity, in consequence of his active and prevailing solicitations against Francis I. of France; and it was he who, upon the day of his coronation, placed the crown of the empire on his head. Being afterwards, at the conclusion of the peace, sent into France by the emperor to do homage for the counties of Flanders and Artois, Francis I., generously forgetting the past, gave him in marriage Claudia de Châlons, the only sister of Philibert de Châlons, Prince of Orange, by virtue of which marriage his only son, René of Nassau and Châlons, succeeded to the principality of Orange after the death of his uncle without issue.

William, the younger brother, embraced the reformed doctrines, and banished the Roman catholic religion from his territories. He had five sons and seven daughters, by his wife Juliana, Countess of Stolberg: his eldest son was the famous William, Prince of Orange, who, after the death of his cousin, killed at the siege of St. Dizier, obtained the principality, and became lord of all the possessions of the house of Châlons. Three of his sons, Louis, Adolphus, and Henry, distinguished themselves in the civil wars of France and the Low Countries, and all fell, gloriously fighting in the cause of religious liberty, against the oppressive and bigoted tyranny of Philip II. of Spain. The younger, John, left behind him a numerous offspring. Of his daugh-

ters, one was married to the Count of Bergues, the other to sovereign counts of Germany.

William Prince of Orange, whose name, as the deliverer of the United Provinces, is worthily handed down to posterity, was, at a very early age, delivered by Charles V. to his sister Mary, queen of Hungary, to be brought up in the Romish faith, which he outwardly professed so long as that monarch lived. That the shining abilities and soundness of judgment of this extraordinary man had early attracted the notice of Charles, is obvious from his having, when he was only twenty-two, during the temporary absence of Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, intrusted him with the command of his army, in preference to the Count d'Egmont, who was twelve years his senior. It was upon his arm that Charles leaned for support when he performed at Brussels his celebrated last public act of abdication, in 1555, at which time he earnestly recommended him to the regard and confidence of his son and successor Philip II.

But the noble and high-minded character of William was ill suited to the prejudiced, bigoted, crafty, and tyrannical Philip, who hated that greatness and those talents he could not emulate, and dreaded the influence of that judgment and discrimination so well calculated to see through and thwart his own dark and dangerous designs. Thence arose that celebrated, and finally successful, struggle for religious toleration and liberty of conscience, against popish bigotry and inquisitorial tyranny,

which placed the name of William I., Prince of Orange, far above that of every sovereign of his time. After having seen the United Provinces rescued from the yoke of Spain, he was assassinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a native of Franche-Comté, in the fifty-first year of his age. His motto was, "Sævis tranquillus in undis," intimating his composure and firmness of mind amidst all the storms to which he was exposed.

By his first wife, Anne d'Egmont, daughter of Count de Buren, he had Philip William, Prince of Orange, and a daughter, Mary, married to the Count de Hohenlohe.

By his second wife, Anne of Saxony, daughter of the great Maurice, he had the celebrated Prince Maurice, and a daughter, Emilia, married to Antony, son of Emanuel King of Portugal.

By his third wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, of the house of Montpensier, who had been a nun, he had six daughters.

Louisa Juliana, married to Frederick IV., father to the unfortunate King of Bohemia; Elizabeth, wife to Henry de la Tour, Duc de Bouillon, so celebrated in the wars of Henry IV.; Catherine, married to Philip Louis, Count of Hanau; Charlotte Brabantina (mother to the celebrated Countess of Derby), the wife of Claude, Duc de la Trémouille; Charlotte Flandrina, who turned Roman catholic, and died abbess of St. Croix in Poitiers; Emilia, married to Frederick Casimir, Duke of Lansberg.

By his fourth wife, who survived him, Louise de Coligni, widow of Monsieur de Teligny, killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and daughter of the great Admiral de Chastillon, he had only one son, the famous Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange.

Philip William, Prince of Orange, being carried early into Spain, was retained there in a kind of honourable captivity; and, being debarred the benefit of all education, he adopted the Roman catholic religion. Although Philip II. restored him, after a lapse of some years, to his domains in the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, the states of the United Provinces conceived such a distrust of him, that he was not suffered so much as to visit, still less to reside amongst them. He married Eleanor de Bourbon, sister of the Prince of Condé, and died, without issue, in 1628.

Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who succeeded to the honours and possessions of his family on the death of his brother, is said to have equalled his father in prudence and greatness of soul, while he surpassed him in martial exercises. He defeated the Spaniards in three signal battles, obtained several victories at sea, and may be said to have gloriously carried on the work William had commenced. The execution of Barneveldt has left a stain on his reputation which his warmest admirers will vainly seek to efface. He died unmarried, in 1635, when the Marquis of Spinola was besieging Breda; from irritation, it is said, in consequence of being unable to relieve the place.

Henry Frederick, his brother and successor, was one of the most renowned captains of his time. He took several important places from the Spaniards, and defeated their fleets at sea, for which services the States conferred the survivorship of his dignities on his son William. Thus William I. laid the foundation of the powerful republic of Holland; Maurice established it by his victories; and Henry Frederick, by a rapid succession of conquests, forced the Spaniards to renounce their claim to the United Provinces, and acknowledge them as a free state. He married Emilia, daughter of John Albert, Count of Solms, a lady of surpassing beauty, who came into Holland with the Queen of Bohemia. By her he had one son, and four daughters: Louise, married to Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg; Henrietta, to the Count of Nassau; Catherine, to John George, Prince of Anhalt; and the fourth to the Duke of Simmeren. He died in 1647.

William II., Prince of Orange, inherited the ambition and courage of his uncle Maurice, without an equal share of prudence and discretion. He embroiled himself with the States of Holland, first, by arresting the Admiral Cornelius de Witt, and then by pursuing a similar course with respect to the five deputies of Holland, seizing upon their persons in the same manner as his uncle Maurice had done those of Barneveldt and Grotius. His disappointment in an attempt to gain possession of Amsterdam, and thereby establish a degree of

despotic power, was a subject of deep and lasting mortification. He did not live to realise any project of vengeance he might have entertained, but died at the Hague, of a fever, at the early age of twenty-four ; having married the Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I., who, a few days after his death, gave birth to a son, destined to re-establish the greatness of his house, and the remarkable events of whose life it is the object of the following pages to record.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH OF WILLIAM III. — STATE OF EUROPE AT THAT PERIOD. — THE PUBLIC FEELING IN HOLLAND HOSTILE TO THE HOUSE OF ORANGE. — JOHN DE WITT GRAND PENSIONER. — WAR WITH ENGLAND, DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ADMIRAL TROMP. — TREATY OF PEACE. — DECREE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF ORANGE. — EARLY EDUCATION OF WILLIAM. — DEATH OF CROMWELL, AND RESTORATION OF CHARLES II. — DEATH OF THE PRINCESS MARY OF ENGLAND. — SEIZURE OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF ORANGE BY LOUIS XIV. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — APPEARANCE OF THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE MEDWAY. — PEACE OF BREDA.

WILLIAM HENRY of Nassau, Prince of Orange, afterwards destined, under the title of William III., to ascend the throne, and form so important an epoch in the history, of England, was the posthumous son of William II., Prince of Orange, by the Princess Mary of England, eldest daughter of Charles I., and was born at the Hague, November 4. 1650.

It might well be observed of this prince, that, like another Hercules, he had to struggle with snakes in his cradle : nothing could be darker than the aspect of the horizon with respect to him ; whether we are to consider the interests of his family as connected with the United Provinces, or the position of those powers who might be most able to support or injure the cause of the new-born heir of a long line of illustrious ancestors.

In England, the overthrow of the monarchy had

just been achieved: Charles I., after a protracted war with the parliament, had laid down his crown, and ended his life on the scaffold; the republican spirit seemed every where to prevail; and Cromwell was opening the way to that power which he afterwards established in his own person. The battles of Dunbar and Worcester had given a final blow to the royal cause, and the hopes of Charles II., who soon became a refugee in foreign states.

France was the scene of intestine divisions. The victories of Rocroi and Nordlingen had been little more than barren triumphs; the great names of Turenne and Condé were gaining no additional lustre, either by appearing as the chiefs of domestic factions, or in turn the generalissimos of a foreign and a hostile power. Louis XIV. was retained in the trammels of Mazarin, and gave but little indication of that energy of character and personal decision he afterwards evinced; while the victor of Sommerhausen and the hero of Rocroi were displaying their respective great talents for command, in a career which could reflect little honour or advantage on either, except by proving the extent of their military skill as the leaders of opposite forces.

The peace of Westphalia had given tranquillity to Germany, exhausted by her great efforts during the thirty years' war; religious toleration had been settled on a secure basis; the triumphs of Gustavus Adolphus, Bernard of Weimar, and Torstenson, had shaken to its foundation the iron power of

Austria ; while Spain, sunk and degenerate under the feeble rule of Philip IV., was but a shadow of what she had been during the time of his grandfather Philip II., except in her adherence to popish and inquisitorial principles. Her career during the reigns of Philip III. and IV. had been marked by defeat and disaster ; and that power, already shaken in the Low Countries by Prince Maurice and Henry Frederick, was destined to sustain still greater checks from the arms of France ; and, having lost the possession of Portugal, to see, on the extinction of its present race of monarchs, the throne occupied by a prince of the house of Bourbon.

The death of William II. of Orange left the army without a chief and the state without a stadtholder. The whole of Europe shared more or less the regret or joy it occasioned : the republican party, both in England and Holland, hailed an event which threw back the sovereign power into the hands of the nation ; while the partisans of the house of Orange viewed its occurrence with regret and dismay. It has been observed of William II., that, as the despotic sovereign of a devoted and high-spirited people, he might have led his armies to victory, and been handed down to posterity as another Francis I. or Henry IV. ; but, filling merely the character of first citizen of a great republic, disappointment and chagrin could alone be his lot, when his ambition, which neither circumstances nor prudence could

restrain, soared towards the attainment of absolute rule. It was thus the misfortune of William III. to come into the world at a juncture when the enemies of his house were furnished with a fair pretence to deprive him of those dignities his ancestors had enjoyed ; and the States General, finding themselves at liberty, by the death of William II., in consequence of his late design on Amsterdam, were unwilling again to commit the direction of affairs to a single governor or stadtholder. Appointing, therefore, a general assembly to be held at the Hague, they resolved, in the first session, that, since the country was now without a governor, by the death of the prince, the choice of all officers and magistrates, for the time to come, should be in the disposal of the cities ; and that not only the ordinary soldiers, but even the guards of the deceased prince, should take an oath of fidelity to the States of Holland.

This resolution was unanimously carried, notwithstanding all the representations made by the Princess Mary, who ineffectually endeavoured to preserve to her son those appointments which the States had made hereditary in his family ; nor were the efforts of his grandmother, the widow of Henry Frederick, attended with any better success.

In pursuing this course, the States appear too easily to have forgotten what was due to the memory of the great William ; an act of ingratitude which not even the hasty and ill-judged course of William II. could justify, more especially when the

consequences were to fall on the head of the newborn prince. To the house of Orange they were indebted for the first of blessings, — religious toleration ; to their liberation from the yoke of Spain was owing their greatness as a *commercial* nation, and the important influence they afterwards acquired in political transactions with the other powers of Europe. The indiscretions of a single individual could scarcely afford any apology for consigning even to temporary oblivion such signal and lasting services ; but the temper of the times, which far and wide breathed nothing but the spirit of republicanism, were for the moment beyond control.

The chief direction of affairs was at this time vested in John De Witt, Grand Pensioner of Holland ; a man whose love of his country was alike sincere and disinterested, and who was an enthusiastic admirer of those principles of liberty which he conceived could only exist and flourish under a pure republican form of government. That he should, therefore, have been a party to every measure calculated to weaken the influence of the house of Orange may fairly be inferred, without in any degree invalidating the character of a true patriot, which he deservedly enjoyed ; and his subsequent tragical fate is but one among many awful examples of the incidents consequent on a free scope being given to the indulgence of a popular frenzy. The case, indeed, of John De Witt strikingly illustrates how equally it may overwhelm

in its torrent the sturdiest republican, as well as the champion of despotism.

Soon after the death of William II. the Rump Parliament of England sent an embassy into Holland, in order to renew the famous treaty made between the two nations in 1595. The partisans of the house of Orange not only opposed the progress of that negotiation, but excited the rabble against the persons of the ambassadors to such a degree, that Dr. Dorislaus, the first envoy from the parliament, lost his life in 1649; and Chief Justice St. John, who was sent out subsequently to the death of William II., was under the necessity of procuring a guard from the States, fearing he might incur a similar fate. St. John had entertained the idea of forming a coalition between the two republics, which would have rendered their interests totally inseparable; but, apprehending that so extraordinary a project would not meet with support, he ventured only indirectly to allude to it, and for the present proposed merely a strict defensive alliance between England and the United Provinces. But the States, unwilling to form too close a confederacy with a government whose stability seemed precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances. St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at many affronts offered him by the Orange party and the populace in general, on his return to England endeavoured to foment a quarrel between the two republics.

Many causes, which it is not necessary to dwell

upon here, combined to render the parliament of England desirous of war. Some promoted it by the hope of turning public attention from domestic matters; others with an idea that, in order to increase the naval force, that of the army would necessarily be curtailed, and thereby the power and influence of Cromwell diminished. Whatever may have been the real object, war was unanimously decided upon; and the parliament, by passing the celebrated Act of Navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England, in *their* ships, any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country, aimed a blow directly at the Dutch, who were the general factors of Europe. Ships were seized, fleets equipped, and at length hostilities commenced.

It was in the month of May, 1652, that the English Admiral Blake, meeting in the Straits of Dover the Dutch Admiral Tromp, gave a signal to the latter to strike, — the usual honour accorded to the English during the monarchy. Of what followed, two statements are given; the English admiral declaring that Tromp fired a broadside into his vessel, while the Dutch commander asserted that more than one bullet was sent from the British ship before he could obey the signal. A bloody battle was the consequence, which lasted five hours, when night parted the combatants. The mission of the Grand Pensionary Pauw, on a special embassy to London, to deprecate the wrath of the parliament, proved ineffectual; they were deaf alike

to reason and remonstrance; and both Blake and Tromp were soon again at sea with formidable fleets. A series of actions ensued, in one of which, near the Goodwin Sands, Blake was, after a bloody conflict, wounded and defeated. Five English ships were taken, and night only saved the fleet from total destruction. After this victory, Tromp placed a broom at his mast-head, intimating that he would sweep the Channel of all English ships. The war continued with various success, till at last, on the 21st July, 1653, Tromp was met off Scheveling by the English fleet, commanded by Monk, afterwards so celebrated as the restorer of monarchy. It was here that, after an obstinate engagement, the Dutch admiral was killed, and a complete victory gained over their enemies by the English. The body of Tromp was carried to the church at Delft, where a magnificent mausoleum was erected over his remains.

This memorable defeat compelled the Dutch to sue for peace, which Cromwell would only grant upon humiliating conditions. He could not, indeed, prevail on John De Witt to concur in a complete identity of interests between the two republics; but the Dutch consented to a defensive league; to pay a considerable sum by way of indemnity; to yield the honour of the national flag to the English; and, above all, the States of Holland and West Friesland were compelled to make a decree, whereby they declared, that they would never elect the Prince of Orange, or any of his

family, to be the stadtholder, admiral, or captain-general of the forces of the United Provinces.

The other provinces, who retained a greater degree of affection to the house of Orange, protested against this step as most unjust, as well as a violation of the Union of Utrecht. Upon this, the States of Holland and West Friesland published a declaration, in order to justify their proceedings, in which their resolutions of excluding the young prince from the offices held by his ancestors were clearly manifested. They stated, that they were resolved to maintain and preserve their liberty, as well in respect to the States in general, as their own provinces in particular: that in a republic, according to the judgment of all sound politicians, such great offices as those of captain-general and stadtholder could not be conferred on any one whose ancestors had enjoyed the same employment, without signal danger to the common liberty: that all the republics in the world, which departed from this maxim, more particularly those who had intrusted the whole strength of their army to a single person during life, with such others as continued them too long in their commands, had been by that means brought under subjection, and reduced to a monarchical state. Having strongly commented upon the attempt made by William II. to surprise the city of Amsterdam, as well as upon his seizure of the persons of the deputies, they concluded by saying, that they were resolved to strengthen the Union of Utrecht, for the preservation of the States

in general, and for maintaining the respective provinces.

This act of exclusion would appear almost a final blow to the interests of the house of Orange; at any rate, the regaining its former influence could not alone be a work of time and circumstances, but must require a degree of energy rarely to be met with, and abilities of no ordinary kind. In the present instance, the prospect of a long minority, and the little probability of the young prince obtaining such an education as would fit him, both in mind and body, for the difficult yet honourable task of restoring the fortunes of his house, scarcely allowed even the most sanguine of his partisans to entertain any well-founded hopes: yet, so narrow and confined is human wisdom and foresight, that, notwithstanding the apparently almost insurmountable barriers that presented themselves on every side, the young prince was destined, in the course of no long series of years, not only to emulate the glory and attain the dignities of his illustrious ancestors, but to perform a part on the theatre of Europe almost unequalled, both as to importance and power, in the annals of political history.

Various accounts have been given with regard to the early years and education of William. It has been stated, that his guardianship was a matter of dispute between his mother the Princess Mary, and his grandmother Emilia De Solmes, widow of the great Henry Frederic, and that the States decided the question, by conceding it to the two

princesses, jointly with the Elector of Brandenburg. It has also been stated, that he was given a governor entirely devoted to John De Witt, who purposely avoided bestowing on him such an education as was suitable to the station in which he was born. It is not easy to come to a satisfactory conclusion upon all these various statements; many of them, unquestionably, were made in accordance with party feeling. We are informed that he obtained an accurate knowledge of those parts of mathematics which relate to the military art, and that he spoke with fluency the English and French languages,—a clear proof that his education could not have been entirely neglected; that it had been befitting his rank, or that he was duly instructed in those refinements, either of literature or science, which so much tend to form the accomplished gentleman, nothing that occurs in his future life affords any reason to believe; yet, in common justice to the character of John De Witt, who, with his avowed attachment to republicanism, was incapable of every sordid prejudice, we are bound to receive with caution—indeed, almost with incredulity—what is merely handed down as the report of interested partisans,—that he in any way connived at the young prince being retained in a state of illiterate ignorance. It is, indeed, asserted by others, that, foreseeing the probability of his one day being called to fill the station occupied by his ancestors, he had not failed to instruct him in all that was requisite to render him capable of filling such a post with

honour to himself and advantage to his country. This account, that uprightness and real patriotism, which even those historians who dissented from his political views have readily conceded to John De Witt, seem fully to corroborate; and it would be unjust to tarnish the character of a great and high-minded man by imputations which rest, to say the least, upon surmise, backed only by partial and interested evidence. Certain it is, that the young prince gave early indications of an anxious desire to follow the glorious example of his ancestors; and those two distinguishing qualifications of his character in after life, reserve and moderation, were undoubtedly prominent in his early years. His prudence increased as he grew up; and those who had the means of accurately observing his progress, affirmed that few ever in early youth afforded more promising hopes of future greatness. Among others, the celebrated Monsieur St. Evremond, then an exile at the Hague, speaks thus of him, in writing to a friend at Paris: "We go now and then to make our court to the young prince, who shall have reason to complain of me for telling you only that a person of his age and quality was never master of so good a turn of wit." It appears, then, pretty clear, that although the education of William may not have extended to the more refined accomplishments, it was, nevertheless, such as to fit him for the important career into which, like his ancestor the great William, and his grand-uncle Prince Maurice, he was destined at so early a period of

life to enter,—to struggle with difficulties equally great, to contend in the field with the first generals, and to check the formidable encroachments of the most powerful monarch in Europe.

The death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, and the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England in 1660, were events calculated to cast a brighter gleam over the prospects of the house of Orange. Charles had, during the latter years of his adversity, received an honourable asylum in the States; and, on departing to take possession of his hereditary dominions, expressed feelings of deep and lasting gratitude for the countenance they had given him in misfortune. It was on this occasion that the Princess Mary, going over to England in order to congratulate her royal brother on his happy restoration, fell suddenly sick of the small-pox, and dying on the 24th of November, was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster.

The death of his mother was not the only loss the young prince had this year to deplore. Louis XIV., who, after the peace of the Pyrenees and the death of Cardinal Mazarin, had taken into his own hands the reins of government, and whose ambition already threatened to become the scourge of Europe, had seized on his principality of Orange, demolished its fortifications, and made it subject to his own laws and regulations. Remonstrances upon this aggression were made to the Court of France with little success till 1665, when they at last consented to restore it to its lawful sovereign. Thus, it may be said, was

laid the foundation of that persevering spirit of animosity which, fortunately for the liberties of Europe, continued through life between the Prince of Orange and monarch of France, and which the totally opposite nature of their respective characters tended materially to confirm.

On the death of his mother, this prince was left mainly to the guardianship of his grandmother Emilia De Solmes, who discharged the great trust devolved upon her with the utmost care and attention: being herself a person of no ordinary attainment, and better versed than most of her sex in the political history of Europe, she began early to turn his mind to that subject, and to prepare him to fill those offices held by his ancestors, which she fondly hoped he would regain.

In the year 1664, the English merchants complained to the king in parliament of the great losses they sustained in consequence of Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, having taken possession of a fort which the English had built at Guinea, as well as of some of their ships in his way homewards. His Majesty ordered his ambassador at the Hague to deliver to the State a memorial of the damages: not receiving a satisfactory answer, Charles, no longer remembering his former professions, laid the affair before parliament, who granted him a large supply in order to make war upon the Dutch, which, not long after, was solemnly declared in London. On the 3d of June, 1665, the English fleet, commanded by the Duke of York, and that of the Dutch under

Opdam, came to an engagement, in which the latter were totally routed, with the loss of their admiral, thirty of their best ships, and about eight thousand of their men.

The Dutch, finding themselves too weak to cope alone with the English, solicited and obtained the assistance of France. In 1666, Prince Rupert and Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, being appointed admirals of the British fleet, came to an engagement with the whole of the Dutch force; during which the duke, being accidentally separated from the prince, maintained for three days a sharp fight against double his number, but must ultimately have yielded, had not Rupert fortunately arrived to his assistance; whereupon the battle was renewed with increased fury, until both fleets retired to their own coasts, each claiming the victory. In another engagement, on the 25th of July, the English obtained a complete victory, and pursued the Dutch ships to their very shores. On the 7th of August, Sir Robert Holmes made a descent upon the island of Schelling, in the Ulie, burnt the chief town, and destroyed above a hundred and fifty ships in the Ulie Road.

Both parties growing weary of the war, and application having been made by the States General for peace, Charles II. consented to it without a cessation of arms. Lord Hollis and Mr. Henry Coventry were appointed plenipotentiaries for the treaty; and conferences had already been held at the castle at Breda, when suddenly the Court and city of London

were alarmed by the appearance of the Dutch fleet at the mouth of the Medway. The penetrating mind of De Witt had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow which might at once restore to the Dutch flag the honour lost during the war. Taking advantage, therefore, of the too great security of the English, and protracting the negotiations at Breda till the naval preparations were complete, he determined upon the expedition in question. The Dutch, having made themselves masters of Sheerness, sailed up the river Thames, broke the chain, and burnt three ships which lay there to guard it. After damaging several vessels, and possessing themselves of the hull of the Royal Charles, they proceeded as far as Upnor Castle, and burnt three other large vessels. The alarm occasioned by this sudden inroad was soon allayed by the hasty retreat of the Dutch, and by the arrival of the express from Holland, which brought the news of the peace having been concluded at Breda on the 9th of July, 1667.

CHAPTER II.

DECREE AGAINST THE OFFICES OF STADTHOLDER AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL BEING VESTED IN THE SAME PERSON. — SPIRITED CONDUCT OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. — CONFERENCE BETWEEN DE WITT AND THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR, SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE. — THE PRINCE MADE FIRST NOBLE OF ZEALAND. — OPINION OF DE WITT ON THE EVENT. — DISPUTES AMONG THE STATES. — PRINCE OF ORANGE VISITS ENGLAND. — CAUSES WHICH INDIRECTLY LED TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE POWER OF DE WITT, AND THE RESTORATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOUSE OF ORANGE. — REVIEW OF THE CHARACTER OF LOUIS XIV. OF FRANCE.

THE war between England and Holland had been watched with considerable interest by the partisans of the Prince of Orange, and they reasonably expected that his interests would not be neglected in the treaty of peace: but in this they were destined to be disappointed: whatever intrigues the English carried on in Holland in favour of the prince, his affairs were totally forgotten in the treaty; so that the Dutch, who had undoubtedly come to the knowledge of such designs, being now at liberty to provide against them, on the 5th of August, 1667, made a perpetual edict to the following effect: —

“ That the States of Holland and West Friesland, after several adjournments, mature deliberations, and communications with the knights and gentlemen, as well as with the councils of the cities, unanimously, and with the general concurrence of

all the members for a perpetual edict and everlasting law, in order to preserve the public freedom, together with their union and public peace, enacted, first, That the power of electing and summoning in the order of knighthood and the nobles together, with the nomination and choice of burgo-masters, common council, judges, and all officers of the magistracy in the cities, should be in the power of the summoned knighthood and gentry, together with the cities respectively, as by ancient customs, privileges, and grants, was confirmed or granted to them, or might be still confirmed or granted, with the free exercise of the same, according to the laws and privileges; and that the fore-mentioned nomination or election, or any part thereof, should not for ever be conveyed or given away. Secondly, That all officers and charges, which were in the disposal of the States of Holland and West Friesland, should be continued in them without any alteration or diminution, excepting only the military employment which might become vacant in the field, and during any expedition by sea or land, concerning which the States of Holland would by a further order determine, not only of the provisional settlement, but also principally of the disposal thereof so as should be most for the service and benefit of the country. Thirdly, That the States of Holland and West Friesland should not only deny their suffrages to the contrary, but also move the generality with all possible efficacy, that it might be established with the unanimous

consent and concurrence of their allies, and by a resolution of the States General, that whatever person should hereafter be made captain or admiral general, or have both the said offices, or whoever, among other titles, might have the chief command of the forces by sea or land, should not be or remain stadtholder of any province or provinces : and for as much as concerned the province of Holland and West Friesland, not only such persons who should be intrusted with the chief command over the forces by sea or land, but also no other person whatsoever, should be made stadtholder of that province ; but that office should remain suppressed and void in all respects. Fourthly, That, for the greater stability of these resolutions, and for the mutual ease and quiet of the gentry and cities, all those who were there elected into the order of knighthood, or that hereafter might be elected, together with all such as might be hereafter chosen in the great council of the cities, should by their solemn oath declare, that they would religiously and uprightly maintain the aforesaid points, and by no means suffer that there should be any encroachment or infraction made against the same : likewise the oath of the lords who should appear in the assembly of the States of Holland and West Friesland should be enlarged in the fullest and most effectual form ; and the counsellor pensionary for the time being should also be obliged by oath to preserve all the aforementioned points. Fifthly, That moreover, for the further stability of

the third point, the same should be expressly inserted in the instructions to be given to the captain or admiral general; and he that was so elected, should be obliged by oath, not only not to seek it directly or indirectly at any time, much less to form a design to obtain it, but, on the contrary, in case any other should do it beyond expectation, that he should withstand and oppose it; and that, if the dignity of stadtholder should at any time be offered to him by any of the provinces, he should refuse and decline the same."

It may easily be imagined, how unsatisfactory such an edict must have proved to the prince's friends, both in England and Holland. Charles II. directed Sir William Temple, his ambassador at the Hague, to interest himself in favour of his nephew. Temple lost no time in opening the matter to De Witt, who replied, it was very obliging on the part of the king to the States: that, for his own part, he never failed to see the prince once or twice a week, and grew to have a particular affection for him; and would tell his Excellency plainly, that the States designed the captain-generalship of all the forces for him, as soon as by his age he should become capable of holding that office.

A circumstance occurred soon after, which tended to prove that the States were not altogether sincere in their professed feelings towards the prince. The house which he occupied at the Hague, properly belonged to the States; but had been assigned for the use of the family, for many

years : of this the leaders of the opposite faction were now resolved to deprive him ; but when a message to that effect was delivered to him, the prince boldly made answer, that he, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather having so long lived in that house, he was very unwilling to leave it, and the pensionary might go and tell the States he would not, till forced out of it. This affair having come to the knowledge of King Charles, Lord Arlington noticed it in a letter to Sir William Temple in the following words : — “ You know how tender his Majesty has been in pressing the States to do any thing for the prince inconsistent with the maxims of their present government. If his Majesty’s discretion should expose his nephew to such a mortification, what would his Highness and all standers-by say of it ; especially at a time when England and Holland are so united ? His Majesty is loth to enter into any expostulation in this matter, till he knows the truth of it ; which he thinks he cannot better come by than by your questioning Monsieur De Witt upon this subject, and deriving your curiosity therein from common fame.” Sir William acted up to these directions ; and De Witt having reported to the States the prince’s answer, as well as the ambassador’s remonstrance, they thought it prudent to take no further notice of the matter. Moreover, upon Sir William Temple representing to De Witt how satisfied his master was with his expression of kindness towards the prince, and that he hoped he would prove it,

by having a regard to his Highness's private affairs, which his Majesty had been informed were in a ruinous condition, the Pensionary admitted that they were in an indifferent state, yet not so bad as reported. The ambassador further added, that he was commanded by his master to treat the prince, in every respect, with the deference due to his nephew, and a grandchild of England; that he would rather resign his employment, than be at all restrained on that point; and therefore desired to be protected against the imputations of any persons within the States, whose jealousies might be excited in consequence. Finally, he could assure him that he was instructed by the king to infuse into the prince the desire of relying entirely upon the affection and good-will of the States, and not upon any private factions. De Witt replied, it was wise in the king; and he firmly believed the ambassador would not deceive them, since no minister ever came to the States of whom they entertained so good an opinion as they did of Sir William Temple.

Not long after, Sir William had another conference with the Pensioner, wherein he proceeded to enter still further on his master's sentiments respecting his nephew: he stated, that it was true, there wanted not some amongst the English, that would be so wise to know that it was impossible for England to fall into any firm confidence with the States upon their present constitution, nor particularly with him upon the Prince of Orange's

occasion : that, for his Excellency's part, he was not at all of that mind ; that, though the king could not lose the affection he had for his nephew, yet he was of opinion he could not express it better, than by infusing into him the belief that he could make himself no way so happy as in the good-will of the States, and trusting wholly to them in the course of his fortunes, and not to private factions or foreign intrigues and applications : that his Majesty was of opinion himself, that princes were not apt to do themselves more hurt, and make themselves less any way, than by affecting too much power, or such as was directly contrary to the genius of the country which fell to their share ; that besides this, he knew his Majesty was so just and so reasonable, that though he should take kindly of the States any respects they should show his nephew, yet his Excellency did not believe he would offer that to any other king or state, which he should not take well that any other should offer to him, or ever be put upon such designs by his council, or his people's inclinations. For they who looked upon his Highness as possibly being one day their king, and who loved a prince grounding his power in the affections of his people, and choosing to rule by the laws, had rather perhaps see the Prince of Orange happy in the good-will of the States, and such moderate power as they think consistent with their government, than of a humour that aimed at any thing that might tend to subvert their civil constitutions. So that his Excellency saw nothing

of danger to them upon this chapter, either from the judgment or disposition of his Majesty, or humour of the nation. Monsieur De Witt seemed very much pleased with what Sir William Temple had said on that subject, both of the king's dispositions, and the people's humours and thoughts, especially that of the king of doing as he would be done by. He added, what he had said formerly, that the States' intentions were to make the Prince of Orange captain-general of their forces, and admiral too, though it was not mentioned; and to this purpose they would already have brought him into the council of state, in order to fit him for those charges, had it not been for some of the provinces that had hindered it upon pretence of more kindness, and designing greater matters for him. That it was, indeed, agreed, those charges were inconsistent with that of stadtholder, which gave as much authority in the civil, as the others in the military part of the government. That, considering the smallness of their state, and greatness of their militia, there was an end of their republic, when both were centered in the same person: that, for his part, if he had been born under a king, he could never have consented to what his ancestors did towards the King of Spain; but being born in a commonwealth, and sworn to maintain it, he could consent to nothing that should destroy it; and he wondered how it had subsisted so long in such danger, unless their preservation was to be attributed to their constant wars abroad, and to the

great moderation of this prince's predecessors, among whom not one had thoughts of encroaching on their privileges but the last; nor would he ever have done so, without having been encouraged thereto by the French, who had his breeding and education. That if he had lived, he would have been the ablest of all the race: and from hence fell into commendations of this young prince's parts and dispositions, and so this matter ended.

The Prince and his friends, on the other hand, were anxiously watching for a favourable opportunity of increasing his influence. The inhabitants of Zealand seemed to be well affected towards his family; therefore, having secretly gained over the major part of that state to his interest, he pretended a hunting excursion to Breda, but proceeded suddenly to Zealand, where, the States being assembled, he desired admittance, and then proposed his being chosen First Noble, as had been the case with his ancestors when they had attained the age of eighteen, promised to himself on his reaching the same age, and of which he now only wanted two months. To this they readily consented, with many expressions of kindness towards him. Some expected they would at once have elected him Stadtholder of that province; but things were not yet ripe for so great a change. The person chiefly instrumental to the prince's views was Monsieur O'Dyke, in conjunction with the Princess Dowager of Orange.

In an interview between Sir William Temple and

De Witt, shortly after the above occurrence, the Pensioner frankly, yet coldly, observed, that there would be no ill consequences of the Prince being chosen First Noble ; and, for his part, if his Highness had imparted his design to him, he should not only have consented to his attempting it at that time, but served him in it : however, that the manner was somewhat shocking ; having come, the day before he went out of town, to take his leave, and said all that could be to disguise any such intention, which seemed to show he would not think of living in any confidence with the States, nor with those into whose care they had committed him ; — that if it should proceed to his being chosen Stadtholder of Zealand, it would come to breed a sharpness between the two provinces ; — that Zealand would pretend he should enter into the Council of State upon that right by virtue of a former resolution, that the Stadtholder of every province should have that privilege, which was passed when every province had that magistrate ; but that now, Holland having none, nor being like to have any, would hardly consent to it, while others of the States said absolutely they would not. The Pensioner concluded, that the Prince had gained nothing by this place besides entering into the States General, as deputed from Zealand, and representing the nobility of that province.

Towards the end of the year 1669 there happened a dispute among the States, which raised the hopes of the Prince of Orange. The citizens of

Amsterdam, on account of their paying one half of all that was levied upon the province of Holland, in the same manner as Holland did one half of what was levied on the Seven Provinces, imagined, with some degree of justice, that they should possess the same influence in the province that Holland did in the state. This induced them to oppose to the utmost the faction of Leyden, Dort, and Rotterdam, who, under the influence of De Witt, carried the elections of civil and military officers. In order to favour the demand of the inhabitants of Amsterdam, there were some overtures made respecting the creation of a new minister, under the title of Secretary of State, whose province should be to receive the addresses of foreign ministers. This office was supposed to be designed for Monsieur Van Benninghen, a person well affected to the Prince of Orange, who was secretly concerned in all the councils and motions at Amsterdam. De Witt had sufficient penetration to see into the consequences of this project, and was too much interested not to quash it. Nevertheless, Monsieur Van Benninghen excited such a feeling in favour of the Prince, that the states of Holland, after the warmest debate that had been known among them for many years, resolved by a plurality of voices, that the Prince should have session in the Council of State, with a decisive voice, and possess the same place his ancestors formerly had enjoyed. However, after this was resolved on, that party which most opposed the Prince's interest started

two new points : the first, that no Captain General should be chosen otherwise than from year to year, but by an unanimity of voices ; and, secondly, that in case the Prince should be chosen Captain General for life, then it should again be debated, and resolved by a plurality of voices, whether he should continue his session in the Council of State. These two questions were agreed to in all the towns, excepting four or five, in which number were Amsterdam and Haerlem ; where it was determined that they were not to be resolved till those matters came in question.

In the mean time the Prince of Orange, probably at the suggestion of the Princess Dowager, formed the design of visiting England, and anxiously inquired of Sir William Temple whether his pretensions were likely to meet with support there ; adding, that all his best friends in Holland were of opinion, that, unless such were to be the case, a visit to that country could only prove prejudicial to his affairs. Sir William informed his Highness that he was wholly ignorant of his master's position, excepting as far as related to Holland. Upon this the Prince desired the ambassador to touch upon the subject to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State to King Charles ; but finding little encouragement in the answer returned by his lordship, he put off all thoughts of his journey till towards the sitting of Parliament, having assured Sir William that he was resolved to act according to his Majesty's advice in his motions relating to

England. In this matter Sir William Temple appears to have played a cautious and politic part. He would neither directly promote nor thwart the Prince's views, but concluded that the wisest course for England to pursue was, to seem no further concerned in the affairs of Holland than to express her wishes for the perfect union of a state so nearly allied to her. At the same time, he did not fail to insinuate the policy of supporting the Prince's interest, as far as could be consistent with the real liberty of the state, and placing him in such a position as might duly represent their commonwealth.

The Prince's journey to England was protracted from time to time, but he arrived at last at Whitehall on the 30th October, 1670, when he was kindly received by the King and court. On the 10th November, the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London waited upon him with an address of congratulation on his arrival in England, and on the 6th December they gave a magnificent entertainment at Drapers' Hall. On the 18th his Highness went to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. On his return to London he took leave of the King and court, and on the 30th January set out on his return to Holland.

Some time before the Prince's journey to England, in the month of June, there was a strong feeling excited at Amsterdam against De Witt, on pretence of his having gained too great a sway in all public affairs; and that persons only entirely

devoted to his interests were ever advanced to places of trust and influence. Sir William Temple considered this in the same light as most excitements of a similar nature;—that its leaders intended to change the state of things, and, by removing those who had long enjoyed office and power, make way for such as had been hitherto excluded. He was not, however, of opinion that they would succeed on a sudden in shaking the authority of De Witt: first, because his greatest enemies admitted his abilities, and acknowledged his services to the state; secondly, because it was always in his power to lean to the interests of the Prince of Orange, which the other party pretended to espouse. In such a case, however, he considered that his Highness would have difficulties to contend against which it would require considerable judgment to surmount.

The conjectures of this able minister were well founded. The influence of De Witt was indeed so firmly established, that no ordinary circumstances could in any degree weaken his interests. His talents were unquestionably great; his services to the state were acknowledged, even by his enemies; he had a long experience of public affairs, and a thorough knowledge of all that related to the interests of his country. Yet, notwithstanding all these apparently solid grounds of security, the career of De Witt was drawing towards a close; and a French monarch, to whom through life he ever continued an uncompromising foe, was, by his un-

provoked invasion of Holland, most instrumental in restoring the Prince of Orange to the dignity and power possessed by his ancestors. It was only when the enemy had laid waste their country, and when they stood on the very verge of destruction, that the voice of the people was raised once more in favour of that family to whose heroic exertions they owed their deliverance from the yoke of Spain, — whose descendant, they believed, could alone be the means of preserving them from the overwhelming tyranny of Louis XIV., and restore their commonwealth once more to that state of grandeur which the wisdom and courage of his ancestors had established.

In this and the foregoing chapter the object has been, to give some account of those transactions which occurred during the early youth of William : we are now about to enter on a period when he is no longer to be viewed, as it were, in the distance, but to have his name connected with all those important events towards which the eyes of all Europe were anxiously turned : and we shall find him entering upon the career of public life just at the moment when Louis XIV. appeared to have attained the very summit of greatness ; when his armies were commanded by the first generals, and his councils directed by the ablest statesmen, of the age ; when his court was the focus of all that learning, talent, or refinement could bring together ; while himself, in the very flower of his age, accustomed only as yet to a continued career of success,

considered even sovereign princes as the mere instruments of his will, and viewed opposing states more in the light of rebellious vassals than independent powers. Indeed, it can scarcely be a matter of surprise, that the monarch to whom the doge and senate of Genoa, and a Papal legate, had appeared as suppliants in his court for pardon; who was surrounded by almost all that Europe possessed of what was enlightened and great, ruling over a chivalrous and devoted people, ambitious of military glory, and captivated by the spirit and magnificence of their sovereign, should eagerly grasp at any occasion of increasing a power which almost appeared beyond control, regardless how far the dictates of justice and humanity, or the faith of treaties, might be violated. Historians will speak of the reign of Louis XIV. as the most celebrated for grandeur in the annals of France; they will hand him down to posterity as the great monarch of a conquering nation; the patron of science, and the promoter of all that was accomplished and refined. The conqueror and the tyrant never want their apologists among those who are dazzled by warlike renown, or awed by the contemplation of stupendous power; but to the calm eye of philosophy the character of those who, like Louis XIV., have harassed nations, and outraged humanity, must ever be viewed in a far different light. To the really high-minded, to the generous and humane, political expediency can never in a religious point of view justify the violation of faith

once solemnly pledged ; the most illustrious names cannot “ blazon evil deeds, or consecrate a crime ;” the most splendid triumphs cannot erase the recollection of remorseless deeds of cruelty and injustice ; and however celebrated may have been the reign of Louis XIV., however the politician or the warrior may accord to him the title of Great, stern justice is compelled to declare, that real Christian principle or a pure sense of honour never were the guides of his actions.

Such was the monarch against whose encroaching power the young Prince of Orange was first destined to lead the armies of his country. The account of that memorable invasion, and the important events, as well as great changes, to which it gave rise, will form matter for the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER III.

FRENCH INVASION OF HOLLAND.—ENGLAND GAINED OVER.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF CHARLES TO SEIZE THE DUTCH SMYRNA FLEET.—SUCCESSSES OF LOUIS.—THE STATES SUE FOR PEACE; HIS HAUGHTY REPLY; THEY RESOLVE TO RESIST TO THE LAST.—THE PARTISANS OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE AROUSED BY HIS GRANDMOTHER EMILIA DE SOLMS.—HE IS APPOINTED STADTHOLDER AT DORT, WITH THE SOLE DISENT OF CORNELIUS DE WITT.—OTHER CITIES FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF DORT.—MASSACRE OF DE WITT AND HIS BROTHER CORNELIUS AT THE HAGUE.—CHARACTER OF JOHN DE WITT.—FAGEL, GRAND PENSIONER.—INEFFECTUAL ENDEAVOURS OF THE COURT OF FRANCE TO GAIN OVER THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—HIS HEROIC REPLY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.—THE EMPEROR AND THE ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG JOIN THEIR FORCES TO THOSE OF THE STATES.—THE DUTCH TROOPS REGAIN CONFIDENCE.—SEA-FIGHTS WITH ENGLAND.—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE SENT BY CHARLES TO NEGOTIATE A GENERAL PEACE.—SEPARATE TREATY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND.—CONFERENCE OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE WITH THE KING PREVIOUS TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE HAGUE.

THE real cause of the memorable invasion of Holland can alone be ascribed to the insatiable ambition of Louis XIV., who, intent on his own aggrandisement, was regardless alike of equity or the faith of treaties. Never was there a moment better suited to put a deep-laid and long-planned design into execution; never was the republic so little prepared to resist any sudden attack, much less the formidable torrent about to be poured upon her. While every attention had been bestowed on her navy, too little regard had been paid to her military resources, which De Witt ap-

pears, with an unaccustomed want of foresight, to have neglected, and only when too late to have been sensible of his error. The cavalry was composed of citizens who never left their homes, and who hired persons from the dregs of the community to perform its duties: the infantry was in no better condition; the officers and commandants of fortified towns were the sons or relatives of burgo-masters, indolent and inexperienced, slow to improve, and totally deficient in energy.

To detach England from her alliance with Holland was a primary object: this once achieved, the ruin of the States seemed inevitable. Louis, who had ample resources at command, found it no difficult task to bring over to his views a monarch who was alive only to pleasure, and whose necessities were but scantily supplied by his parliament. The French monarch was lavish in his offers; and Charles, hoping, by such assistance, to obtain at a future period a more absolute sway over his people, was readily disposed to listen to such overtures.

A young princess of twenty-four years of age, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, the favourite sister of Charles, was the chosen instrument to ratify this treaty between the two sovereigns: the plan was, besides, confided to Louvois and Turenne. An excursion which the king was about to make towards Dunkirk and Lille, in order to visit his newly made conquests, was selected as a fit opportunity for the princess to pass over to England. Asiatic

pomp never equalled the magnificence displayed on the occasion of this excursion : the king was accompanied by the queen and the whole court ; and the young Duchess of Orleans enjoyed a secret triumph, in finding herself the chief object of attraction amidst the most brilliant assemblage of wealth, talent, and beauty, ever brought together. On the court reaching Calais, she embarked on that celebrated mission, the successful accomplishment of which, age and experience might, in other days, have despaired to effect.

Charles had already proceeded to meet his sister as far as Canterbury : there, in the midst of festivity and pleasure, was the destruction of the Dutch republic determined on. Nor did the Princess Henrietta, in the execution of the object, which had caused her once more to visit her native land, although aided by the exertions and advice of James, Duke of York, trust only to her personal influence over her brother : she had brought over in her suite a much admired court beauty, Mademoiselle De Querouaille, afterwards better known as the celebrated Duchess of Portsmouth, whose charms were intended to captivate Charles, thereby establishing a means by which the French interests might ever retain a strong-hold in the British court.

The sum paid to Charles by the French court is variously stated. According to the best authorities*, it appears that he stipulated to receive two

* *Vide* Dalrymple, Memoirs.

millions of livres in order to aid the cause of popery, and three millions each year to aid in carrying on the war against Holland.

It is difficult to arrive at an exact statement of all the occurrences connected with this disgraceful arrangement ; but sufficient, at least, can be made clear in order to convince the reader that no treaty more disgraceful and iniquitous was ever ratified by a British sovereign.

England being thus secured, Louis brought over to his interests the Archbishop of Cologne, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the turbulent and unprincipled Van Gallen, Bishop of Munster and Abbot of Corbie. It is worthy of remark, that not one of the contracting parties could allege even the shadow of complaint against the republic : the enterprise, indeed, can only be compared to the memorable league of Cambray, between Louis XII. and the Emperor Maximilian, against the Venetians, simply in consequence of their reputed pride and wealth.

The States, alarmed at such mighty preparations, addressed the French monarch, deprecating his anger, professing to be utterly unaware of having given him offence, and offering to make any reparation in their power. Louis did not, like Charles, descend to subterfuge or invention ; he did not seek for a cause where he well knew none could be made out, but merely replied, that he should act consistently with what he considered due to the honour of his crown, and would be accountable

for his conduct to no one. The British monarch having entered upon the war without the consent of the parliament, and therefore dependent alone on the purse of Louis in order to fit out his navy, was advised by Colbert to seize the Dutch Smyrna fleet, then on its way home, laden with considerable wealth. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with nine frigates on the enterprise: approaching the Dutch convoy, he put on the semblance of friendship, and invited their admiral, Van Ness, to come on board his ship. The latter, however, having been informed of the hostile disposition of England, had put all his vessels into an admirable posture of defence; and, after an obstinate engagement, the greater number, aided by a mist which afterwards came on, got safely into port. The disgrace of this transaction was, if possible, heightened by its failure; and the English ministry, after having in vain attempted to impose on the credulity of the world, by ascribing the affair to the casual circumstance of the Dutch having refused to lower their flag to the British ships, were compelled at once to throw off the mask. The pretended causes of offence alleged by Charles against the Dutch are almost too contemptible to deserve a place in history: a certain picture, of a nature reflecting on the character of the British navy, said to be in the possession of Cornelius De Witt, the pensioner's brother, in which he was described bearing the attribute of a conqueror, with several ships burnt and taken in the distance, was the only reason ever

assigned for an action as unjust and iniquitous as it was detrimental to the best interests of his own subjects.

That the empire, Spain, Sweden, and the other powers of Europe, should have remained inactive spectators of a proceeding which could not fail, if successful, to destroy the general equilibrium, seems alike extraordinary and unaccountable. Whether they were waiting to ascertain to what the new formed alliance of France with England would tend, or whether, calculating upon the probability of those two powers disputing over the spoils, they were preparing to take such measures as might suit their respective positions and interests, it is now needless to enquire: certain it is, that every thing seemed to portend the destruction of the republic; all that human wisdom, prudence, or invention could supply, in order to effect the object in view, had been brought to bear. One hundred and twenty thousand men, composing the best disciplined troops of France, commanded by Turenne, Condé, Vauban, and Luxembourg, would appear alone sufficient, without the combined fleets of France and England, to overwhelm a state so ill prepared to weather the attack even of a less formidable enemy: indeed, in its commencement, the march of Louis appeared like a torrent, to which it was vain to offer resistance. Of all the towns and fortresses on the German side, hitherto considered impregnable, not one, except Maestricht, made even the show of resistance;

and the French had only to appear before the inland places, in order to become their masters. Utrecht and Zutphen opened their gates at the first approach of the enemy; for, although both these places were well garrisoned, still they were commanded by officers of little experience, who dared not face the veteran troops of France: in short, a general panic seemed to have struck the whole nation. Louis established his camp and court at Utrecht, and there began to consider the best means of possessing himself of those towns, which, not having as yet surrendered, might, in the last extremity, baffle his designs, by opening the sluices, and inundating the country. He was unwilling to risk the loss of the advantages already obtained, by having to contend with an insurmountable element, and resolved to wait either till the frosts of winter could ensure a safe passage for his troops, or the Dutch in their present deplorable condition be prepared to accept any terms it might be his pleasure to dictate.

Four deputies of the republic were despatched to the royal camp, to implore his clemency: they were received with haughtiness and insult. At last the king declared the final conditions upon which he was disposed to grant them any terms: — he required the States to give up all they possessed on the other side of the Rhine — cities and forts in the very heart of their country; that the French should have free passage by sea and land through the territories of the republic; that the Catholic

religion should be re-established ; that the republic should send him every year an extraordinary embassy, with a gold medal, as an acknowledgment of their vassalage ; and, besides the payment of a large sum of money to himself, should also satisfy the demands of the King of England and the other contracting parties.

Existence under such conditions was scarcely to be desired : the States were driven to despair, and resolved to perish gloriously rather than yield themselves victims to such intolerable slavery ; yet, upon whom were they to rest any hope ? Their government was irresolute what to do, their troops were without a general, and disheartened ; and although De Ruyter, with admirable prudence, contrived to keep the naval force together, yet faction, distrust, and sedition were visible alike in the state and army.

At such a crisis, the friends of the Prince of Orange began to talk loud and boldly ; they represented that his restoration was the only means of satisfying England ; and that, as his illustrious predecessors had formerly delivered them from the tyranny of Spain, so upon him alone could they now rest any hope of being able to stop the progress of the French. The distracted state of affairs could not fail to second these views. Men's minds were intent upon change, convinced that their position could not be rendered more desperate ; and the Princess Dowager of Orange, Emilia de Solms, — a lady of incomparable courage and mas-

culine prudence, who had ever beheld with impatience the eclipse of the house of Orange, which she had seen in its splendour,—was eager to feed the rising flame, and awaken the zeal of all those who were attached to the interests of her grandson. In addition to all this, the clamours of the people, alarmed at beholding a victorious army in the heart of their country, were too great for any government, distracted as that of the States then was, to resist. Accordingly, in an assembly of the States of Holland and West Friesland, on the 24th February, 1672, it was unanimously agreed that the Prince of Orange should be chosen captain and admiral general of the United Provinces; and De Beverning, John De Witt, and Gaspar Fagel were deputed to invest his Highness in those ancient dignities of his ancestors. The Prince had no sooner taken the usual oaths before the States, than he immediately repaired to the army, which was then posted near Nieukop, where all he could do against the whole power of France, commanded by the king in person, was to endeavour to keep his position. This he performed with so much skill and conduct, that the enemy could gain no advantage; and, having attempted to force him out of his entrenchments, were driven back, and compelled to retire with loss.

In the mean time, in consequence of so many places having fallen into the hands of the enemy, the people openly murmured against the government: the inhabitants of Dort were the first to rise,

and tumultuously demanded of their magistrates whether they were resolved to defend the city or to sit still? Although the magistrates declared their readiness to do their utmost to resist the efforts of the enemy, such an answer by no means satisfied the people; and the keys of the gates happening to be missing, treachery was at once suspected, and thousands of voices exclaimed that they would have the Prince of Orange for their stadtholder, threatening vengeance against the magistrates if they did not immediately comply with their demands. The ruling powers in the city, alarmed by these menaces, despatched messengers to the Prince entreating him to hasten to the place, in order to allay the popular ferment. His Highness contended that it was unwise and dangerous for him to leave the army, but was compelled to yield to their importunity. Being conducted with great solemnity to the town hall, he was desired by the magistrates to signify to them his pleasure: to which he replied, that, as they were the cause of his coming, it was their part to make proposals to him. After some demur, they requested that, for the satisfaction of the people, he would view the fortifications and magazines of the city, to which he consented, and made a tour of the place for that purpose: but the people, suspecting the magistrates to have deluded them, flocked in great numbers about his coach, enquiring whether they had made him stadtholder or not? On his modestly replying, that he was satisfied with the

honour already conferred on him, they unanimously declared, that they would not lay down their arms till they saw that trust reposed in him ; so that at last the magistrates, terrified by the threats of the people, and scarcely knowing how to act in so pressing an emergency, were constrained to yield, and immediately passed an act declaring the Prince of Orange stadtholder, captain and admiral general of all their forces both by sea and land ; thus giving him all the power and dignity enjoyed by his predecessors. Immediately the whole city rang with joyful acclamations, and the arms of the house of Orange were once more placed upon the towers and ramparts.

There was only one person in Dort who did not concur with the magistrates ; this was Cornelius De Witt, brother to the Pensioner, who declared he would never sign the act. The arguments and persuasions of the chief men in the city ; the menaces of the people, who were ready to plunder his house ; and the earnest entreaties of his wife, who was sensible of the great danger he was incurring, were alike unavailing : he inflexibly adhered to his resolution.

The cities of Holland and Zealand were not slow in following the example of Dort ; and upon a report, made by the deputies of the several cities, the States of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland not only confirmed what had been done at Dort, but, in a full assembly of the States General, they solemnly restored the Prince to the office and

power of stadtholder, with all the prerogatives exercised by his ancestors. In consequence, his Highness, in the hall of audience, took the place of stadtholder with the usual forms; and then returned to the army, which was stationed at Bodegrave.

The Prince lost no time in evincing his determination not to remain inactive; and the people, as if inspired with new courage, failed not to second his efforts. The French were twice repulsed, with a considerable loss, in an attack upon Ardenburg, being forced to leave 500 prisoners behind them. This dawn of success to the arms of the republic, while it proved the enemy to be no longer invincible, brought with it renewed confidence and courage among the troops.

The garrison of Gröningen defended themselves, with equal success, against the Bishop of Munster, who was compelled to raise the siege, after having sat down before it with an army of 30,000 men, and having lost nearly half that number in his various attempts to reduce that important place.

In the midst of these transactions, so favourable to the cause of the Prince of Orange, De Witt and his brother fell victims to the fury of the mob at the Hague; experiencing the sad fate of many others when national misfortunes, either at home or abroad, occasion discontent. Cornelius De Witt had been accused of a design upon the Prince's life, and of having endeavoured to engage one of

his household in the attempt : no evidence was adduced to establish the charge ; and, more in order to meet the popular tide, than from any belief in his guilt, he was sentenced to banishment ; at which the people, professing to discredit his innocence, evinced considerable dissatisfaction. On the morning appointed for him to quit his prison, the Pensioner, contrary to the advice of his friends, resolved to convey him in his carriage with four horses out of the town. Such an equipage, not being in accordance with the usual simplicity he adopted, attracted general notice : persons began to congregate tumultuously, first in the streets through which he passed, and afterwards about the prison, exclaiming against what they called the partial judgment of the court, and causing a strong excitement against the two brothers. When these feelings had attained their highest pitch, those against whom they were directed appeared, when one of the burghers exclaimed, " Now the traitors are together, and it is our fault if they escape us." There wanted no more to induce the populace to proceed to the utmost extremes of violence : the Pensioner and his brother were presently laid dead upon the spot, their bodies dragged about the town, and literally torn in pieces by the fury of the mob. Thus fell one of the greatest politicians of the age in which he lived (admitted so to be by those who are no admirers of his principles), after having administered the commonwealth of Holland as Pensioner eighteen years, with benefit to his

country and honour to himself; affording a striking and melancholy example how shortlived is popular applause, how uncertain the tenure of any power, however considerable, when dependent simply on the national will! De Witt was unquestionably a stern republican, but he was so from principle, not from any motive of personal interest or ambition: his having taken part in all or any of those measures tending to decrease the influence of the house of Orange was more for the sake of upholding that state of things which he firmly believed to be most consistent with the pure principles of liberty, than from any partial or petty feeling of hostility towards the members of that family. The bitterest enemies of De Witt have never attempted to deny to him the title of an uncorrupt and steady patriot: his views may have been erroneous, and not always suited to the circumstances in which his country was placed; but it must be admitted, by every impartial historian, that his judgment was alike strong and acute; his knowledge of the politics of surrounding nations, as well as of the dispositions of the leading men of his time, far beyond what was ordinarily to be met with; and, to say that he enjoyed the personal friendship and highest esteem of Sir William Temple, is perhaps the best tribute that can be offered to his memory. Many, who have made their way to worldly fame and power through scenes of desolation and bloodshed, have been greeted with public approbation, and quitted the

stage of life without ever having been exposed to the frowns of fortune. But, looking upon the human character with a calm and dispassionate eye, we must, perhaps, hope in vain, however it might be matter of earnest desire, that many, whose names have ranked highest in the annals of fame, and whose deeds it has been the object of historians to immortalise, may have gone to their great account with as little remorse of conscience, as little cause to dread the presence of an all-seeing Judge, as the unfortunate, indeed, yet patriotic and high-minded, John De Witt.

It would be unjust, about this period of the history of William III., to do otherwise than declare that, according to all the evidence that has been transmitted on the subject, by no one was the tragical end of the De Witts more deeply regretted than by the Prince of Orange. However much their views, personally and politically, may have been opposed, the Prince knew that De Witt was both a really able statesman and a true lover of his country; and that was by no means a period when the loss of such a man could have been otherwise than most sensibly deplored by all who could appreciate real virtue, and do justice to great talent. However much the circumstance in itself may have contributed to establish the Prince's newly-acquired influence, still there is not a shadow of reason to justify the base insinuations of certain writers, who have imputed to him at least unfeigned satisfaction at the event, if not the

having indirectly been the means of bringing it to pass : upon not one single act of William's life can such a charge be grounded.

De Witt was succeeded as Pensioner of Holland by Monsieur Fagel, who was attached to the interests of the Prince, believing his country could not be preserved by any other means ; and whose zeal for the Protestant religion made him an irreconcilable enemy to France.

This revolution of affairs, although some acts which attended it cannot be too strongly censured, or deeply deplored, was the means of calming the public mind. The States became firmly united, the army improved, both in discipline, confidence, and courage, while foreign powers began to look with some expectation to the efforts of the Prince of Orange, and to entertain better hopes of the issue of events as regarded the Dutch cause. Among others, the Elector of Brandenburg addressed a letter to the States to the following effect : — “ That since he heard his Highness was restored to the dignities of his ancestors, he did not doubt but Heaven would prosper a resolution so advantageous to the public, especially since he knew the Prince inherited the virtues of his illustrious predecessors ; protesting, besides, that he found himself obliged, upon his elevation, to contribute all that lay in his power to assist his Highness to recover and preserve what his ancestors had acquired at the expense of their own blood, with so much reputation to themselves.”

To gain over the Prince of Orange was now become the leading object in the councils of France; and, in the hopes of thereby holding out a temptation alike flattering to his ambition and pride, they proposed to make him sovereign prince of the Provinces, under the protection of England and France. To an ordinary, or selfish mind, such an offer, in the ruinous state of the country, and the little promise the future appeared to afford, would have been beyond resistance; but by the representative of a race of heroes it was received with scorn. "That he never would betray the trust reposed in him, or sell the liberties of the country which his ancestors had so long defended," was his firm and noble reply. Still, so desperate appeared the state of things at that moment, that one of his confidential attendants is stated to have enquired of him whether he had considered what course he was to pursue when Holland should be lost: the Prince answered, that he had in that case determined to retire to his German states; and that he would rather dwell there as a hunter, than sell his country to France on any condition.

About this time Charles II. sent an embassy to the King of France at Utrecht, composed of the Duke of Buckingham, with Lords Arlington and Halifax. Jealousy of the rapid advances made by France, while the interests of England were overlooked, was supposed in Holland to be the cause of this mission; but the return of the plenipotentiaries, after having confirmed anew the plan

of alliance between the two crowns, proved the reverse. The ambassadors seemed desirous, on their passage through Holland, that the former idea should prevail; and this gave occasion to an excellent repartee of the princess dowager, who, upon the Duke of Buckingham's declaring, after many empty professions of attachment to Holland, that, indeed, "they did not use Holland like a mistress, but loved her as a wife," exclaimed, "*Vraiment je crois que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la vôtre.*" Equally ineffectual were the efforts of the English diplomatists to make any impression on the Prince of Orange; their overtures and their threats were received with the same stern dignity and heroic firmness. After a long conference with the Duke of Buckingham, in which that nobleman declared the ruin of the United Provinces to be inevitable, the Prince observed, in a manner worthy his illustrious race, "There was one means by which he would be sure never to see his country's ruin, — he would die in the last ditch."

The French cabinet, having lost all hopes of shaking the constancy of the Prince of Orange, turned all their thoughts towards the reduction and ruin of the remainder of the country. They had advanced as far as Woerden, and from thence they proceeded to within two leagues of Leyden; their whole march having been marked by a degree of rapine and cruelty more calculated to excite in the States a desire of revenge, than any

inclination to come over to their views. The Prince was stationed near Bodegrave, between Leyden and Woerden; and there made a gallant stand, with a handful of men, against the whole strength of the French force, dislodged their advanced guards, and chased them as far as their trenches before Utrecht. But an event of far greater importance had occurred, without which it would have been almost impossible to save the republic. In the month of May, 1672, the Elector of Brandenburg had concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Dutch for a succour of 20,000 men. The almost certain loss of the Low Countries, should Holland fall into the power of France, alarming the court of Vienna, induced them to abandon their plan of neutrality, and rise from a state of inactivity to unite with the Elector in aiding the cause of the republic: a league was accordingly concluded, in August, between the Elector, the Emperor, and the States; and 16,000 Imperialists joining the forces of Brandenburg and Halberstadt, advanced towards the bishopric of Munster; but, being opposed by Turenne, the Elector endeavoured in vain to pass the Rhine. This diversion of the arms of France, however fruitless in the event, gave a momentary respite to the States.

In the meantime the winter had not proved favourable to the designs of the French: the frosts had not been of long duration; and their movements were of necessity more cautious. The Prince

of Orange, being unwilling to see the winter set in without any action of importance, resolved, in conjunction with Colonel Zuilestein and Count Horn, to besiege Woerden : the Duke of Luxembourg hastened to relieve the place, and, with 1000 men, fell upon the division commanded by Colonel Zuilestein, but was forced to retire with loss. The town was afterwards furiously battered, and reduced to such extremities, that they sent to capitulate ; when the duke with a reinforcement having marched, with the assistance of a guide, through a hollow way filled with water, suddenly attacked the same quarters of Colonel Zuilestein, and, after an obstinate action, in which the colonel was slain, succeeded in throwing 3000 men into the place, although he was driven back the second time by Count Horn : the loss of the French amounting to 2000 men besides 50 officers, while that of the Dutch did not exceed 700. The Prince, however, finding the town to have received so great an accession of force, thought it prudent to raise the siege.

The Prince, having taken means to hinder the transportation of English merchandise from Rotterdam and Brabant, marched to Rosendael ; from whence, with an army of 24,000 horse and foot, he proceeded towards Liège : at his approach the Count de Duras retired to Wasseburg. The Prince's object was to drive the French from their quarters, near the Meuse, and to force the count, if possible, to a battle. Having passed the river on

a bridge of boats near Navange, and joined a body of Spanish auxiliaries, he immediately invested Tongres; but when news were brought that the count had decamped, he recrossed the Meuse, and pitched his camp near Ainsburg, hoping to bring the count to an engagement; being again disappointed, he proceeded towards Maestricht, whence he sent a detachment to seize the castle of Walcheren, which surrendered after some resistance: he then marched to Lowick, still in hopes of coming up with the enemy; but the retreat of the count had been so rapid, that farther pursuit was abandoned. The Prince then called the attention of the enemy to their own territories by investing Charleroi; but, the winter setting in, he abandoned the design of a siege, and, after he had made himself master of Bins, retired into winter quarters.

During this expedition, the Duke of Luxembourg, with an army of 14,000 horse and foot, resolved to attempt the conquest of Holland, hoping to enrich himself with the plunder of Leyden and the Hague. He commenced his march upon the ice towards the end of December; but arriving at Slinwetiring, he found the waters so high that only 3500 foot could pass, the rest being obliged to return to Naerden. This party first attacked Neucrop; but being repulsed by the peasants, they marched to Swammerdam, which surrendered. Count Königsmark who commanded at Bodegrave, being advised of the approach of the French, has-

tened to Leyden, and posted a force at Goursluis, to stop their incursions on that side.

The unexpected approach of the French caused great consternation at the Hague, and this was much heightened by the retreat of Colonel Painpin from Nieuburg to Tergow, which afforded the enemy means of retiring; otherwise, in consequence of the thaw which ensued, they must probably have perished or surrendered. The return of the Prince, who, having at Breda heard of the advance of the French, had hastened in consequence to Allen, dissipated the immediate alarm; and the Duke of Luxembourg, after ravaging the heart of the country, narrowly escaped losing his life by a fall from his horse into the water, and ended his hazardous undertaking with the loss of 600 of his men, who were drowned.

The French committed great barbarities at Swammerdam and other places of which they made themselves masters; but such losses were compensated by the taking of Coerden, at that time one of the strongest cities in the Low Countries, and the key of Friesland and Gröningen. This place having fallen into the hands of the Bishop of Munster, was retaken by assault by a party of 1000 men under Monsieur de Ravenhaupt. The place having been plentifully stored with provisions and ammunition, its loss greatly mortified the enemy, and put them to such consternation that they quietly abandoned several other places; while the Dutch, by gaining possession of it, secured the provinces of Gröningen

and Friesland, and formed a barrier to the advance of the French towards Amsterdam. Such successes greatly contributed to increase the general confidence in the Prince of Orange; and the people were readily inclined to ascribe his unexpected return of good fortune to his conduct and bravery.

During this period the disputes between the new and old magistrates of Friesland were maintained with such animosity, that they held separate assemblies, and thwarted each other by opposite resolutions. This state of things the government of that province, as well as the Princess Dowager, had ineffectually endeavoured to compose; and its evil consequences might have been serious, had not the Prince interposed by his commissioners, and restored order and union. Having next proceeded in person to Zealand, he had the good fortune to settle similar differences, which existed in that province; and from thence, taking occasion to view the frontiers and fortifications of Flushing, Sluys, Ardenburg, and other places, he returned to the Hague.

In the spring of 1673, the Dutch found enough to occupy their attention. On one side they were attacked by the King of France in person, with a powerful army, while Condé and Luxembourg were at Utrecht with large forces, watching an opportunity to throw themselves into the heart of the country: on the other side they were vigorously attacked by the combined fleets of England and France. The Prince of Orange was therefore

compelled to keep his post, both for the purpose of watching the land forces, as well as to prevent a descent of the English.

On the 10th of June, 1673, the King of France sat down before Maestricht with an army of 40,000 horse and foot. The garrison of the place consisted of 4000 foot and 900 horse, under the command of Monsieur de Tarjaux, an experienced officer. The siege was carried on with all that vigour which a well-disciplined army evinces, when fighting in the presence of their sovereign. After a valiant defence, which lasted three weeks, the governor, from want of provisions and ammunition, was forced to capitulate. His conduct appeared so satisfactory to the Prince, that he was raised to the rank of major-general. The taking of Maestricht cost the King of France 9000 men, and many officers; upon which, thinking he had sufficiently performed his part for this campaign, having demolished the fortifications of Tongres, he divided his army into three parts: one division being sent to Turenne; another to ravage the country of Triers, because the elector had joined the emperor; and a third, to reinforce the French forces in Holland.

Meanwhile the sea was a scene of continued action between De Ruyter, who commanded the Dutch fleet, and Prince Rupert, who was set over that of England. The latter weighed anchor on the 31st of May, and, steering towards the coast of Holland, found the enemy in the bay of Schonvelt. On

the 8th of June, Prince Rupert, joined by a French squadron under Admiral d'Etrées, came to an engagement with De Ruyter, in which both parties claimed the victory; on the 14th, another action, not more decisive than the former, ensued: it was, however, no small glory to De Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to those of France and England, he could engage them without any apparent disadvantage; and that he could prevent a descent upon Zealand, which, if once effected, might have proved destructive to the Dutch cause. On the 26th of July, Prince Rupert again set sail, and, with D'Etrées and Sir Edward Sprague, a third time engaged De Ruyter, with Brankert and Tromp, at the mouth of the Texel. This battle was maintained with a degree of courage and obstinacy that would have nothing but death or victory. After a long and bloody contest, in which Sir Edward Sprague lost his life, being drowned in changing his ship, Prince Rupert obtained a dear-bought advantage, neither party being able to keep the sea, and each making for their own coasts.

The French army being divided, and the English fleet no longer threatening the coast of Holland, the Prince of Orange found himself at liberty to pursue a more active course: he recalled the troops that were in Zealand, marched suddenly towards Naerden with 25,000 men, and immediately invested the place. The Duke of Luxembourg, with a body of 10,000 men, besides four regiments of Munsterian horse, advanced as far as the Prince's

entrenchments, but found it impossible to relieve the town. The Prince pursued his enterprise, took the counterscarp and ravelin by assault, after three hours' resistance; forced the besieged to retire into the town, and obliged them the next day to capitulate. In short, after a siege of four days, the town was surrendered, on condition that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war; notwithstanding which, the French governor was tried by a court martial at Utrecht, and ignominiously degraded from his rank. The Prince having left a sufficient garrison under Count Königsmark, and ordered the fortifications of the place to be repaired, returned to the Hague, to prepare himself for greater undertakings.

On the approach of winter, he resolved, like another young Scipio, to save his country by abandoning it; to avoid the many sieges required in order to recover the towns they had lost. The states, having made a still firmer alliance with the Emperor and the King of Spain, his Highness, anxious before the close of the season to perform something worthy of repute, advanced to Rosendaël in Brabant, and joined the Spanish general, the Count de Monterey, who immediately yielded to him the command of the confederate forces: but finding the Prince of Condé to have changed his position upon the news of the junction of the two armies, and that he had so entrenched himself as to render it impossible to attack him, advancing onwards, he effected a junction with the

imperial troops, 30,000 strong, between Andernach and Bonn, under the command of the celebrated Montecuculi, who had succeeded in driving Turenne out of Franconia, and crossed the Rhine at Coblenz. The Prince in his march had taken Rhinbach by storm: no time was lost by the confederates in besieging Bonn, which had been placed, at the commencement of the war, in the hands of France. It was taken, notwithstanding the resistance of a numerous garrison, reinforced by Marshal d'Humières; and a passage thereby opened for the German forces over the Rhine, and into Flanders. His Highness then proceeded to Weseling, and speedily took the cities of Brevel and Schwich. All this time Marshal Turenne was forced to remain at a distance; for although he was aware that Bonn was besieged, and anxiously desirous of relieving it, yet, knowing the Duke of Lorraine to be watching his movements on the banks of the Moselle, he was unable to make any effort to raise the siege.

This successful expedition of the Prince of Orange, so completely marred the designs and damped the hopes of the enemy, that they quickly abandoned all their conquests in Holland, except Maestricht and Grave, being fearful of finding the communications with their own country cut off. Woerden was the first place they quitted, and it suffered much from their cruelties: the governor received orders from the Duke of Luxembourg to dismantle it, and carry away the ammunition and heavy

cannon, as well as exact the sum of 20,000 livres as the ransom of their houses from plunder. Hardenwick, Crèvecœur, Bommel, and Utrecht all suffered, in different proportions. Upon the retreat of the French from the latter place, the burgomasters were absolved from the oath they had taken against the restoration of the Prince of Orange, and sent their deputies to his Highness to acknowledge him for their stadtholder in the name of the province.

In consideration of the wonderful and unexpected turn of affairs, which was entirely owing to the wisdom, conduct, and valour of the Prince of Orange, the States, in order to mark their sense of his eminent services, not only confirmed the high office of stadtholder in his person, but, by a decree dated February 2. 1674, settled it likewise upon the heirs male of his body: this example was also followed by the states of Zealand and Utrecht.

The war with Holland, originally commenced without the sanction of parliament, was always unpopular with the British nation: the subsidies from France bore no proportion to the charge of the fleet; the naval power of England seemed weakened, rather than strengthened, by its union with that of France; the British seamen fought reluctantly, and appeared to fear their friends rather than their enemies: while the discontents at home were so great, that it was thought dangerous to assemble the militia: Charles was, moreover, at this time, threatened with hostilities by Spain unless he could come to terms with Holland. Such an event would so

completely have paralysed the British trade, that the French alliance would have been found to be but a poor compensation; he therefore plainly saw that he could expect no supply from the Commons to carry on a war which was odious to the nation at large. A congress had been previously opened, at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden; but, as the two kings on the one hand, and the States on the other, rose in their demands according as their respective affairs prospered, it was found impossible to come to any agreement; and, on the evacuation of Holland by the French, the congress broke up; the seizure of Prince William of Furstenberg by the Imperialists having afforded the French and English a fair pretence for leaving Cologne: now, however, the position of Charles was such, that it became a matter of the first importance to make a separate peace with Holland; he therefore asked the advice of the parliament, who unanimously recommended it; and, at the same time, he received a letter from the States, offering a suspension of arms, and proposing to send ambassadors in order to conclude a treaty. The parliament had advised the peace being made, through the medium of the Spanish ambassador, upon the conditions he had formerly proposed; and the government felt satisfied a treaty could not be refused without drawing too much odium on themselves: on the other hand, it was feared that, in consequence of the general discontent which had prevailed respecting the war, the presence of Dutch ambassadors might be productive of evil conse-

quences : it was therefore resolved to send, rather than to receive, an embassy on the subject ; and Sir William Temple was selected for that undertaking, who proposed to the King that, in order to avoid the delay of preparing equipages, &c., he should at once go over, without the pomp usually attendant on such an office. His Majesty consented to his assuming, for the present, merely the character of plenipotentiary, but added, that he should receive the appointment of ambassador so soon as the peace might be concluded.

On the very morning when Sir William Temple was about to depart, the Marquis de Frezno, the Spanish ambassador, informed Lord Arlington that he had received full power from the States to conclude a peace with his Britannic Majesty. Lord Arlington was of opinion that Spain should have no part in the affair ; but Sir William thought, that independent of the question of honour in settling it in London rather than at the Hague, points of interest might also be more satisfactorily arranged. This circumstance being communicated to the King, his Majesty appeared not displeased at the change, and instructed Sir William Temple to confer with the Marquis de Frezno on the matter. Sir William having received his instructions, after only three meetings with the Spanish ambassador, concluded the treaty in a manner satisfactory to all parties : the two points of difficulty being, the honour of the flag, and the recall of the English troops from the French service. The former point was conceded

to the full extent required by the English ; the latter was arranged, by Charles not being required to recall those recruits that were already serving with the French troops, on condition that no additional number should, in future, be permitted to go over ; at the same time, he was to allow any levies the Dutch might think proper to make in his dominions of English and Scotch regiments ; a regulation of trade was agreed to ; all possessions were restored to the same conditions as before the war ; and the States agreed to pay the King the sum of 300,000*l.*

The peace having been concluded, to the great satisfaction of the nation at large, Charles's first object was to make the matter as palatable as he could to the French court, by representing his conduct as dictated by necessity, and offering his mediation between the parties still remaining at war. The French, having also reasons to desire a suspension of hostilities, accepted this offer ; and Sir William Temple was despatched to Holland, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, for the purpose of bringing about, if possible, a general peace.

How far the allied powers might be disposed to consent to the mediation of a monarch so recently in strict alliance with France, and whose personal partiality to that nation was well known, appeared reasonably to furnish matter of considerable doubt : and it was also not unlikely that the States, encouraged by the improved prospect of their affairs, and

influenced by the advice of the Prince of Orange, who would be averse to laying down his arms after such a career of success, with the probability, moreover, of the French cabinet, deserted by England, and compelled to abandon so great a portion of their recent conquests, being driven to listen to terms such as, in the former period of the war, they would have rejected with disdain, would be not so easily prevailed upon to discontinue hostilities simply because it was no longer in the power of one monarch, and, consequently, inconsistent with the interest of the other, to carry on the war. Besides, the personal character both of Charles and of those who had of late directed his councils, together with their treacherous conduct towards the republic, were little calculated to afford either confidence in the integrity of their motives, or any high idea of the influence they could possess with the other confederate powers.

Before entering into further detail of the contest still carried on between France and the States, it may be well to say a few words of the ministry by whom the affairs of the English nation, and the conduct of the monarch were unfortunately for some time directed: the persons chiefly, if not solely, composing this nefarious junta, were the Duke of Buckingham, Lords Clifford, Arlington, Lauderdale, and Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. The first letters of their several names forming the word "Cabal," gave rise to the name by which they were ever afterwards designated. The object

of this party was doubtless to render the King absolute; nor were they entirely free from the suspicion of desiring to re-establish popery: but the more their projects are considered, the more it is difficult to determine whether their conduct was most blameable in principle or impolitic in practice. It was not possible to regain and uphold such powers of the crown as had lately been abolished by law, without subduing the people, and rendering the royal prerogative uncontrollable. Against such a scheme it was easy to foresee decided opposition from almost all classes in the nation. With regard to popery, although the Roman catholic religion is better fitted than the protestant for supporting an absolute monarchy, no rational mind would have conceived it the best means of acquiring arbitrary power in England, where it was more detested than slavery itself. Although the aid of the French king might, in the onset, have appeared in favour of their design, reflection must have convinced them, that the sole intention of Louis, as it was obviously his policy, must be to embroil the King with his people, and thereby overthrow that barrier to his ambition, which a settled government in England, whether free or despotic, must clearly form. In the war with Holland, their views appear equally absurd and erroneous. If the republic should be entirely subdued, Louis, and not Charles, would be the gainer: if the Dutch, by their own vigour or the assistance of allies, could render

the war obstinate and doubtful, the French forces would be so employed elsewhere as to be unable to afford any effectual assistance to the King's enterprises at home : in short, their position appeared sufficiently odious and contemptible, without increasing it by sacrificing the best and most valued ally of the nation. Thus, in whatever point it is to be viewed, the Dutch war must appear to have been in every sense as absurd as it was iniquitous, as injurious to the national interests as it was derogatory to the national honour.

The selection of Sir William Temple to fulfil the important office of bringing about a peace in Europe was, in every sense, well judged and prudent. Few men stood higher in general estimation, as a skilful and experienced diplomatist, as well as for high honour and moral worth. He had already performed at the Hague a part which required an equal share of tact, penetration, and skill; and had won the approbation and esteem both of the republican party as well as the adherents of the house of Orange. He had long foreseen the necessity of forming a barrier to the growing power of France and the insatiable ambition of Louis XIV. ; and, but for the disgraceful policy so unexpectedly pursued by his court, the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, formed under his auspices, would have placed the balance of power in Europe in a far different position. Sir William Temple therefore appeared, under all these circumstances, well calculated to


meet intricate difficulties, lull suspicion, and settle jarring interests ; but, notwithstanding all these advantages, of which he could not but be sensible, he was fully aware that the weak and inconstant character of Charles, swayed by the dictates of the moment, and to whose vanity or personal objects an appeal was seldom made in vain, might, as was the case during his former mission, render all his projects abortive ; for it could not be denied that the national glory was to the British monarch, but matter of secondary import when standing in the way either of his natural love of pleasure, or any object of selfish aggrandisement. Sir William, therefore, wisely determined, previous to setting out on his mission, to sound the real feelings of the King, and thereby ascertain the ground on which he stood, rather than put any trust in a set of ministers who had once so entirely deceived him. In a long conference with the King in his closet, Temple did not fail to reflect on the evil consequences of the late war, and how ill-advised his majesty had been to break through treaties solemnly ratified. Charles endeavoured to excuse what he could not in reality defend, and pretended that, had he been better served, the nation would have reaped greater advantages from the war : Sir William then took occasion to allude to the other schemes of the Cabal, and showed how impossible it was to set up in England the same religion or government as in France : that in France the nobles and clergy alone possessed weight and

influence; if the king could engage them in his designs, he had nothing more to do; that the peasantry, possessing no land, were powerless and insignificant; the nobility, allured by the prospect of numerous offices, civil and military, were entirely attached to the court; and the clergy retained by similar motives, added the sanction of religion to the principles of civil policy: whereas in England a great part of the landed property belonged either to the yeomanry or middling gentry, the King had fewer offices to bestow, and could not himself subsist, much less maintain an army, except by the voluntary supplies of parliament, and even an army would not be prevailed on to promote ends which were hateful to the nation. Temple concluded his observations by stating the remark of a Frenchman named Gourville, who, having met him at Brussels during the first Dutch war, and hearing that the parliament had become weary of it, observed, "The King had nothing to do but make peace;" that he had been long enough in England, and seen enough of the court, people, and parliament to conclude "qu'un Roi d'Angleterre qui veut être l'homme de son peuple est le plus grand roi du monde; mais s'il veut être quelque chose davantage, par Dieu il n'est plus rien." Charles is reported to have listened with great attention, although at first he showed some impatience; and, whether from sincerity, or thinking it necessary to dissemble, assured Sir William, that he felt the force of his arguments, as well as the

aptness of Gourville's observation ; and, laying his hand on that of his ambassador, added, with apparent cordiality, " Et je veux être l'homme de mon peuple."

Such was the enlightened and high-minded man about to depart on an undertaking, the arduous nature of which, his talents so well fitted him to overcome, and who more than any other was calculated to bring matters to a conclusion as honourable to his sovereign and country as satisfactory to the other contending powers. Few, however great and excellent they may have been, can be said to have passed through a long career of public life unassailed by envy or defamation ; nor was Sir William Temple entirely free from those attacks which more or less have, in every age, pursued the most celebrated men : the imputation of having been a free-thinker in matters of religion has been laid to his charge by Burnet ; but the odium of such an accusation recoils justly on the bishop : there does not appear in any portion of Sir William's public or domestic history a single fact calculated to give to it even the shadow of probability. Shining, as he did, like a meteor in the midst of a profligate court and ministry, it is scarcely matter of surprise that he should have been, to a certain extent, the victim of that malice which party spirit always engenders : but the charge in question appears, if possible, more absurd than wicked. Scepticism and infidelity are never the companions of a reflecting mind, assisted by the re-

finement of education ; and the man who, amid the hurry and turmoil of public life, tempted by interest, and surrounded by faction, can still pursue that course which honour and principle approve, must unquestionably be swayed by motives and feelings of a far higher import than those which court only worldly aggrandisement : and all the accounts that have been transmitted of the period in which he filled the important station of ambassador, at the various European courts, concur in considering his talents as a public man equalled only by his private and domestic virtues.



CHAPTER IV.

DEFECTION FROM THE FRENCH ALLIANCE OF THE BISHOP OF MUNSTER. — REDUCTION OF FRANCHE-COMTÉ. — ARRIVAL OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE. — HE ENDEAVOURS IN VAIN TO SEE THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. — HIS CONFERENCE WITH THE PENSIONER FAGEL. — GREAT BATTLE OF SENEF. — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF GRAVE. — INTERVIEW BETWEEN SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE AND THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. — OPINIONS OF HIS HIGHNESS RELATING TO GENERAL AFFAIRS. — UNEXPECTED MISSION OF LORD ARLINGTON TO THE HAGUE. — ITS OBJECT, AND TOTAL FAILURE. — DESIRE EVINCED BY FRANCE AND HOLLAND FOR PEACE. — UNSATISFACTORY CONDUCT OF CHARLES II. — THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GUELDERLAND OFFERED TO THE PRINCE. — HE DECLINES IT, AFTER ADVISING WITH THE STATES. — CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCE AND SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE AT THE HAGUE. — SUDDEN AND SERIOUS ILLNESS OF WILLIAM. — GENERAL SATISFACTION ON HIS RECOVERY. — CONTINUATION OF THE CAMPAIGN. — DEATH OF THE CELEBRATED MARSHAL TURENNE. — SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE DESIROUS OF FORMING A CONGRESS AT NIMEGUEN.

WHILE these important events were passing with respect to England and the republic, the Bishop of Munster, apprehending the issue of the war, or rather fearing the approach of the Imperialists, avoided the impending danger by a timely peace with the Emperor. This so alarmed the French, that the Marquis de Bellefonds, who had succeeded D'Humières in the government of the conquered provinces, resolved to abandon many places still remaining in their hands, pretending to have occasion for all his forces to maintain those upon the Rhine. Having, besides, received information that the Prince of Orange, in consequence of the peace

with England, had determined, in concert with the emperor and Spain, to commence an offensive war, and march into France at the head of 50,000 men, he at once proceeded to demolish, instead of fortifying, the places of his government. Thiel paid 22,000 florins to escape fire and plunder; Zutphen promised 70,000, and delivered hostages for the security of the payment; Arnheim paid 26,000 florins and 400 sacks of corn; and Deventer paid 6000 rix dollars to the Bishop of Munster: thus the provinces of Overyssel and Guelderland were wholly evacuated by the French, and returned under the dominion of their lawful sovereign. The Prince immediately despatched commissioners to make some necessary changes and regulations, intending to come in person, on a future occasion, in order to make a lasting settlement.

The King of France appeared highly incensed at the conduct of Bellefonds, whom he banished to Bourges. It was, nevertheless, well known that this was only a pretence, in order to conceal the necessity he was under to drain his garrisons in the Low Countries, that he might reinforce the army destined for the conquest of Franche-Comté; being desirous of repairing by this means the losses he had sustained elsewhere. Accordingly, he entered the province with an immense army, which, joined by another under the Prince of Condé, speedily succeeded in reducing it; Besançon, Dôle, and all the principal places, immediately surrendering. While these two armies

were thus employed, the Prince of Orange repaired to Bergen Op Zoom, from whence he marched to Machlin, and remained on the watch all the time the French monarch kept the field. Louis having returned to Paris after his new conquest had been secured, the Imperialists having thrown themselves into Namur, and taken the castle and Dinant, thereby opening the passage of the Meuse, joined the confederates towards the end of July. The three generals, after a short conference, decided that the Count de Souches, with the German troops, should lead the van; the Prince of Vaudemont and Count Monterey, with the Spaniards, the rear, and Count Waldeck, with the Dutch, the main battle; the Prince accompanying them as generalissimo of the whole confederate army. In this order, to the amount of 60,000 men, they prepared to attack the Prince of Condé, who with an army of 50,000 men was encamped on the other side of the river Priton, to prevent the designs of the enemy.

In the month of July, 1674, Sir William Temple arrived at the Hague, to enter upon his important mission. Having delivered his credentials, and conferred with the Pensioner Fagel, he found the States disposed to listen to the terms of such a peace as would be consistent with their honour and engagements with the Allied Powers, and was assured of their readiness to accept the mediation of the King of England. In consequence of this, his Excellency proceeded to Antwerp, in

hopes of finding the Prince in his camp, between that place and Louvain : but his Highness having departed two days previously, he was compelled to go to Brussels, in order to procure a guard to convey him to the camp. On his wish, however, being made known to the Count de Monterey, the Spanish commander, it was coldly received, and excuses offered, almost equivalent to a refusal. The fact was, that the Spaniards looked with a jealous eye on the mediation of England, and feared that the disposition towards a peace entertained by the States, and the influence of Sir William over the Prince, might prove an impediment to their present hopes and designs : so that it was resolved at first to delay, and finally to prevent, any interview taking place between him and the Prince, till after the campaign. Being desirous, however, of effecting this in a manner as little offensive as possible, a guard was granted to convey him as far as Louvain, but finding, on his arrival, that the Prince had marched towards Tirlemont, he resolved to send a messenger, the Spanish guards having received orders to proceed no further, to inform his Highness that he was ready to attend him at any time or place he might appoint. An answer was returned the following morning, stating, that no special appointment could be made, owing to the uncertain movements of the army ; upon which Sir William, perceiving that the Prince was as desirous as the Count de Monterey to avoid any interview for the present, wisely resolved not to press a point which it was obviously

determined to elude. Pretending, therefore, that his health would not admit of his continuing in pursuit of the Prince, he hastened his return to the Hague, where he had several conferences with the Pensioner, and thus obtained the information necessary to make him acquainted with the existing posture of affairs, as well as to feel the pulses of the Allies, relative to the subject of a general peace.

Sir William stated to the Pensioner, how much his sovereign was satisfied with the alliance of the States; how desirous he was to cultivate its continuance; and how much he gloried in a position which left him entirely at peace, while others were at war. The commercial advantages he had gained by the late treaty had been such as to render him indifferent to the relative position of the rest of Europe, did he not entertain the honourable ambition of restoring peace to Christendom: such a feeling had induced him to offer his services in the character of a mediator; the offer had been already accepted by France; while Spain and the Emperor had replied, that they would take the matter into consideration, in concert with their allies. His Excellency added, that he knew the desire of the States was for peace; if the King had any partiality, it would naturally lean to that side in which the interests of his nephew were so deeply concerned; it was not his interest to suffer Flanders to be lost; he wished that country to be left in a better posture of defence, and the

Spanish territories to be more clearly defined and limited. Finally, Temple declared, that in case all these matters should be arranged, his Majesty would be ready to enter into the strongest guarantees they could desire to maintain matters on so beneficial and desirable a footing.

The Pensioner having expressed his thanks for Sir William's good offices, as well as his sense of the King's generous offer, declared his conviction of the same being accepted by the States, and the only difficulty would be, to decide on the time and manner of effecting it: his Majesty's offer should be immediately communicated to their allies, together with their own readiness to accept his mediation; all the lost towns, with the exception of Grave and Maestricht, had been recovered, but the last of these was, in the event of its being retaken, in some degree promised to Spain, and the other they expected would soon fall into their hands; he was doubtful whether the Allies would be equally moderate in their demands, and the States could not abandon those who had preserved them in the hour of danger, or break the treaties they had entered into with the Emperor, Spain, and the Elector of Brandenburg: the terms stipulated with Spain obliged them to reduce France to the treaty of the Pyrenees, unless it should otherwise be agreed upon between them: whatever would content Spain would be satisfactory to them, although they were equally sensible of the ambition of Louis XIV., as of his

hatred to the States : under all circumstances, they could scarcely hope for a more favourable opportunity of reducing him to terms consistent with the safety of their neighbours, thus giving peace to Christendom. There certainly existed many difficulties in forming a treaty between France and Spain, for it could scarcely be expected that the demands to restore such towns in Flanders as the Spaniards had lost during the last war, and which had been ceded at the peace, would now be allowed by France : and yet, without that condition, it was easy to foresee no secure peace could be looked to, as regarded the interests of Flanders, Holland, or even England. He believed many days would not elapse before some decisive action would take place between the two armies, now at no great distance from each other, whereby an easier road to negotiation during the ensuing winter would be opened ; and his Majesty would then find that their interests as a trading country being deeply involved in bringing the matter to a favourable issue, would dispose them to persuade their allies to facilitate as much as possible so important an object. He had no reason to anticipate any great difficulty on the part of the other allied powers, who had not, like Spain, so many points at issue with France.

The Pensioner was not mistaken in the expectation he entertained of an action speedily taking place ; for in August 1674 was fought the famous battle of Senef, between the confederates, com-

manded by the Prince of Orange, and the French, under the great Condé. The event of this battle has been variously reported, each party having claimed the victory. The Prince of Orange had, unquestionably, for some days, sought to bring the enemy to an engagement, while the French appeared unwilling to run the hazard, unless under circumstances of evident advantage. During this time, both armies lay near Nivelles, at no great distance apart. The Prince hoped, by obtaining a victory, to make his way into France, and thus avenge the invasion of his country. Condé felt the necessity of restraining his usual boldness, being sensible of the serious consequences defeat would bring with it: the Prince, therefore, despairing of coming to a general action but by attempting the siege of some place, broke up his camp, and marched towards Senef. Condé eagerly watched the march of the confederates; and perceiving, by the narrowness of the passage, that they were compelled to move off in small files, waited till the vanguard, with a considerable part of the main body, had passed, when he drew out his men, fell fiercely upon the rear of the Spaniards, broke their line with great slaughter and little resistance, and took several prisoners and standards. The Prince of Orange, being informed of the attack made upon Vaudemont, sent three battalions to his assistance; but the Spaniards, already defeated, carried disorder into the Dutch ranks, who were compelled to retreat, pursued by the French. If the Prince of

Orange had, in the anxiety to bring the enemy to an engagement, rashly exposed one wing of his army, he amply compensated for his error by his conduct during the obstinate and bloody action which ensued: he rallied his dismayed troops, led them again and again to the charge, and formed so determined a stand against the veteran soldiers of France, that he obliged the Prince of Condé to make greater exertions, and incur more personal risks, than he had done in the most celebrated battles of his early youth. Even after sunset the combat was continued by the light of the moon, and it was darkness at last which put an end to the contest, leaving the victory undecided. The hero of Rocroi and Norlinguen was the last to quit the field, and performed the part more of an adventurer eager to acquire distinction, than of a great general whose reputation had stood the test of time: he had three horses killed under him; and himself having headed three desperate charges against the enemy, would, but for the darkness which came on, have attempted a fourth. “Il n’y avoit que le Prince de Condé qui eût envie de se battre,” said an officer who was present at the action; and, what was most worthy of remark, both armies, after having exhibited proofs of undaunted valour, retired during the night as if panic-stricken. To the Prince of Orange no small share of honour is due for having thus obstinately contended on equal terms with the most celebrated general of the age; and if the great Condé did not, on this memorable occasion, tarnish

his never-fading laurels, neither did the Prince of Orange show himself unworthy of the important and distinguished post he had to fill. The Count de Souches, in his letter to the States, observes, "that in the whole course of the action the Prince had shown the conduct of an old, experienced commander, the valour of a Cæsar, with the undaunted bravery of a Marius." But of all the commendations his allies, friends, or enemies could bestow, none was more valuable than the spontaneous testimony of his great antagonist, who observed, that "the Prince had conducted himself like an experienced captain, but that he had ventured his person like a young man." Thus ended this memorable battle, the first grand essay in arms of the Prince of Orange, the last of the great Condé: about 7000 men are supposed to have fallen on each side, as well as many officers of note; and although both claimed the victory, each may be said to have sustained serious loss.

The day after this action his Highness marched with his entire forces by way of Mons, and put them into quarters at San Guillain, where he received five new regiments. The necessary time having been spent in recruiting after so severe an action, each army took the field again, and a general expectation was entertained of another battle being fought before the campaign should be ended. The Prince of Orange anxiously sought it, but Condé so fortified his encampment as to avoid being compelled to engage without decided ad-

vantage, and contented himself with watching the motions of the Allies, preserving the French conquests in Flanders, and preventing any irruption into France, which had been designed during the summer by the confederates.

The Prince of Orange, finding it impossible to bring the enemy to action, decamped with the whole army on the 12th of September, passed the river Heyne near Tournay and Aith, and invested Oudenarde, hoping thereby to draw the Prince of Condé out of his cautious position, who immediately came to relieve the place, and engage the Allies before they were ready to give any assault to the town. Upon the approach of the French army, the Prince of Orange called a council of war, and proposed attacking them immediately, before they could recover the fatigue of a long day's march. The Spaniards acceded to his views, but Count Souches was either not to be found, or else would not consent. The occasion was thus lost; and the Germans having left their trenches, and marched away to the distance of about a league, so that the French were enabled to throw what relief they pleased into the town, the Prince was compelled to raise the siege; and finding, after a conference with Monterey and Souches, that he should not be able to effect anything with the Imperialists, he resolved to leave the greater part of the Dutch forces with Count Waldeck, and with the rest proceed himself, to press the siege of Grave. Here began those dissensions among the

confederates, which proved so injurious to their cause during the remaining course of the war ; yet an attempt was made to heal these first divisions in the recall of both Souches and Monterey by their respective sovereigns ; neither of these commanders having been thought to second, as they might have done, the Prince's vigorous measures. Grave was the last town the French retained in the United Provinces, preserved as a kind of magazine of what had been taken in other places. It had been invested a month before by General Rabenhaupt, yet the Prince found the siege but little advanced on his arrival ; the Dutch soldiers, disheartened by the vigorous defence that had been made, needing some one like himself to lead them on, in order to insure any prospect of success. Proceeding, therefore, with his accustomed energy and resolution, he reduced the Marquis de Chamilly to such extremities, that on the 25th of October the town was surrendered, the garrison being permitted to depart with the honours of war.

A short time previous to this transaction, Sir William Temple had given an account by letter to the Prince of what he had expressed to the States at his audience, and of the general scope of his embassy. As soon as his Highness returned to the Hague, Sir William informed him of his sovereign's personal kind feeling towards himself, his present friendship with the States, and his desire to see a general peace established in Europe. In the

latter point he wished to act entirely in concert with the Prince, whose views and opinions his Majesty desired as early as possible to be made acquainted with. The Prince in reply expressed a strong feeling of regard for his uncle, with a strong desire to see a firm alliance established between the two nations, as most conducive to their mutual welfare, both in their domestic and foreign interests. He added, that although he had reason to complain both of the Spaniards and the Imperialists, still the States could not with honour conclude a separate treaty with France: a general peace could not be effected without leaving Flanders in such a posture of defence as to secure it against the consequences of any sudden invasion: that Spain would not quit the country of Burgundy, Cambray, or any thing in Flanders, beyond what was settled by the treaty of the Pyrenees, unless it were Aire and St. Omer. This, the Prince added, was the opinion he formed; but if he could be made acquainted with the views of the King of England, and find them to be consistent with the safety of his country, and his own honour towards the Allies, he would do all in his power to bring them to pass, as he had already done with respect to the question of his Majesty's mediation, which had been accepted at Vienna and Madrid. Sir William observed, that the King, having been the author and guarantee of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and finding the French still in possession of all the towns ceded to them by that treaty, could not,

with any good grace, submit any thing to France beyond those terms, unless he could also offer an equivalent. The Prince resolutely answered, it were then better to go on with the war, let it last ever so long, or cost what it might : that his Majesty might, if he pleased, induce France to do whatever he thought just, and that he could not prove his personal goodwill towards himself, more than by bringing him out of this war with honour. If he could not do so, it must go on till one party or the other should be compelled, by necessity, to a peace on any terms. How matters would turn out was known only to Providence ; but still he thought their position as favourable as that of the French ; that he was satisfied they might have defeated the French at Senef, had Count Souches done his part ; and moreover, that he had a fair prospect of success at Oudenarde. Germany, he was convinced, could furnish as good soldiers as France ; they were now all united in a common cause, and he hoped the Emperor's councils would not be again betrayed as they had been. At any rate, he must act that part towards the Allies to which his own honour, as well as that of the States, was pledged.

There was one point more, which Sir William touched upon with the Prince ; and that was, respecting those persons and parties in England who, dissatisfied at the late war and with the measures of the Government, had been suspected of tampering with Holland in order to raise seditions in England, in case the war continued, and of endea-

vouring to cause a Dutch fleet to appear off the English coast in the course of the ensuing summer ; when, in consequence of his Majesty's circumstances being much straitened by the expense of fitting out a fleet, they were likely to be ill guarded. Lord Shaftesbury, who had played so deep a game in the councils of the Cabal, and who, in a speech respecting the policy of the Dutch war, had exclaimed " Delenda est Carthago ;" when he saw the nation opposed to it, and the King unable to carry it on, turned suddenly round upon the court, and, with the other members of the Cabal, joined the popular cry both in and out of parliament. Having resigned his place of chancellor, which was given to Sir Heneage Finch, he among others was suspected of holding secret correspondence with Holland. Temple having informed his Highness of the suspicions entertained by the King of some of his subjects, without naming any, added, that the Prince could not perform a more acceptable service to his master than by discovering any of whom he was aware ; but William resolutely declined, saying, he was satisfied the King could not press upon him any thing so contrary to all the principles of honour, as to betray those who had professed to be his friends. The English ambassador lost no time in reporting this to his court, where it was considered as being, on the part of the Prince, unfriendly towards the King, and evincing little anxiety respecting the peace. Sir William received no further directions respecting this par-

ticular matter ; but early in December Lord Arlington, with Lord Ossory, arrived at the Hague, though not with the appearance of coming on public business.

The cause of the sudden and mysterious arrival of Lord Arlington was to convey a letter from the King to Sir William Temple, stating, that his lordship was intended to be the means of setting certain important matters right between his Majesty and the Prince ; and Sir William was requested to afford him every assistance in his power.

But Lord Arlington had other motives, of a personal nature, which it rather behoved him to conceal from the public eye. He had been the chief promoter of those measures which the King adopted during the ministry of the Cabal, and found his influence at court considerably diminishing in consequence of the unpopularity of the late war with Holland. The Earl of Danby appeared to rise in favour in proportion as Lord Arlington lost ground, and succeeded Lord Clifford in the treasury,—an office which had long been the object of Arlington's ambition : this caused an implacable hatred on his part towards Danby, which no interference of mutual friends could appease. He had been unpopular in the country ; first, for having aided in breaking the triple alliance, and, lastly, for having formed one with France for the destruction of Holland : yet, when the opposition of the parliament had broken up the designs of the Cabal, Lord Arlington followed the example of Lord

Shaftesbury so far as to join with the Duke of Ormond and secretary Coventry in persuading the King to remove the Duke of York entirely from his court and councils, as the best means of putting an end to the national suspicions and jealousies on the subject of popery, which the late affairs had given rise to. In consequence of this advice, Lord Arlington had greatly offended the Duke; and, finding himself equally on bad terms with his Royal Highness and the parliament, while he was daily losing ground in the favour of the King, he thought there was no way of retrieving his credit but by becoming the instrument of some secret negotiation between his sovereign and the Prince of Orange. He first suggested to his Majesty the necessity, as well as advantage, of such an arrangement, and the expediency of his being employed in it, in consequence of the interest his lady's friends and relations had in Holland. Although he professed a great friendship for Sir William Temple, yet he represented him as unlikely to be trusted so fully as was requisite by the Prince, in consequence of his intimacy with De Witt during his previous embassy. Having succeeded in persuading Charles to enter into these views, he went over, attended by all those persons whom he considered most likely to aid him in his object. He was accompanied not only by Lady Arlington, but also by Madame Beverwort, her sister, whose conversation was said to be agreeable to the Prince; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who pretended

a great intimacy with Monsieur Bentinck, his Highness's confidential attendant ; Dr. Durel, a physician ; Monsieur du Marais, a French minister in great credit with the Prince ; and Lord Ossory, who had not only the honour of being highly esteemed by his Highness, on account of his marriage into the Beverwort family, but also because of his high qualifications and personal bravery.

Lord Danby had been deceived into the belief that a letter had been received from the Prince to Monsieur Odyck, the Dutch ambassador in London, requesting that some one should be sent to the Hague direct from the King, with whom he might enter into full and confidential communications ; and that the journey of Lord Arlington was undertaken in consequence. This, however, the Prince declared to Sir William Temple to be entirely destitute of foundation.

Lord Arlington informed Sir William Temple, at their first meeting, that he had come over in order to set certain matters right between the King and the Prince, and establish entire confidence and harmony between them. In order to effect this, it was necessary, however disagreeable the task, to recur to past events ; which Sir William, not having had any share in the King's councils at that period, could not so well undertake ; and that the King had therefore chosen him, as being best able to justify his conduct in the eyes of the Prince with respect to those transactions. Although

his Majesty desired a peace, still he would not interfere in it unless the Prince made overtures to that effect; but would simply give him what information he could upon the state of things in general, as well as what might be hoped from France; but, in case the Prince made no further advances on the subject, he would suffer it to drop, and leave it in his Excellency's hands. He was aware that such a commission as his was might appear an affront to another ambassador; but both the King and himself reckoned so much on their mutual friendship, that they felt confident he would both take it in a kindly part, and willingly afford his assistance: he added, besides, that, after having settled the concerns of his master, he should endeavour to remove the bad impression his Highness seemed to entertain with respect to himself; and that then the business of his mission would be ended. He concluded by requesting that Sir William would introduce him and Lord Ossory in due form to their first interview with the Prince, after which he would give him no further trouble.

Sir William having assured his Lordship that, let his business be what it might, he received him with pleasure, added, that he should rejoice, both for the sake of his sovereign as well as the Prince, that all matters were satisfactorily arranged between them. With regard to any reference to past transactions, he would leave that to his own judgment: still, from what he knew of the Prince's temper and feelings, he would recommend him to be cautious of probing

too deeply : expostulations were apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends. He would introduce him and Lord Ossory to the Prince, and desired to take no further part in this affair than his Lordship himself should be pleased to wish.

Lord Arlington did not fail to keep Sir William informed of every thing that passed between him and the Prince. His Lordship dwelt much on his endeavours, as well as the strong arguments he had used, to justify both the King his master, and himself, with respect to the part they had acted in the late war ; but on every point he found his Highness equally unbending, sullen, and reserved : that he made no overtures whatever respecting the peace, but merely observed, it was in the power of the King to bring him out of this business with honour, if he so pleased ; but if not, the war must be carried on till the condition of one or the other party should render a peace desirable on any terms.

The Prince, on the other hand, informed Sir William of the arrogant and insolent tone assumed by Lord Arlington in his expostulations : that he discoursed with him as if he had to deal with a mere child, and could easily bend him to any side of the question he thought proper to adopt ; that he gave so false a colouring to things, the true state of which was known to every body, that himself, being a plain dealing person, could scarcely listen to him with patience. The Prince concluded by observing, that though he was by no means satisfied with the King's conduct, as regarded this mis-

sion, still he was convinced he never intended Lord Arlington should behave to him in the manner he had done.

The Pensioner and Count Waldeck believed the object of Lord Arlington to be, first, to induce the Prince to connive at such terms of peace as were most desired by France; 2d, to discover those persons who had made advances to his Highness or the States about raising commotions in England; 3d, to come to a secret understanding with the King to assist him against any rebels at home or enemies abroad; and, 4th, to prepare the plan of a marriage with the Duke of York's eldest daughter. They added, that the Prince would not enter at all into the first proposition; was firmly resolved not to listen to the second; treated the third as reflecting upon the King, in supposing he could be so ill beloved at home, or imprudent, as to need foreign assistance; and, with regard to the last, merely observed, that his fortunes were not in a condition to allow him to think of a wife.

After remaining six weeks in Holland, Lord Arlington departed, equally disappointed and disgusted at the ill success of his mission. On his return to London, he was ill received by the King, and still more so by the Duke of York, who was incensed at any mention having been made of the Princess Mary: that was said to have been done by Lord Ossory, but whether with the knowledge or approval of the King seems uncertain.

Whatever might have been the real state of the

case, the French evinced, this winter, an extreme desire for peace. A plan for a marriage between the eldest daughter of the Duke of Orleans and the King of Spain was agitated; a suspension of arms was proposed at Vienna; means were taken to separate the princes of Brandenburg and Luxemburgh from the confederacy; and great endeavours made for a separate peace between France and Holland; in order to effect which, every commercial advantage was offered to the States, and every temptation of a personal nature placed before the Prince of Orange. But his Highness would not desert his allies, who rejected all overtures of peace, although he foresaw he was likely to have a difficult task to encounter, during the ensuing summer, not only with them in the field, but also with the people at home, who felt equally the pressure of taxation and the decay of trade. Seriously reflecting upon all these points, he resolved to make an effort towards bringing about an honourable peace. He proposed that a marriage should take place between the King of Spain and the eldest daughter of the Duke of Orleans; that France should give the late conquests in Flanders as her dowry; and that the King of England, for his good offices, should receive 200,000*l.* Thus a treaty would be made consistent with the safety of Spain and Holland, and the honour of Louis, who would give the conquered towns as a dowry to a daughter of France; the honour of the Prince and his pledges to the Allies remain unsullied, and his Britannic majesty acquire

both honour and profit. This plan the Prince and the Pensioner desired the English ambassador to lay before his master, as the only one calculated to bring about the desired peace. Sir William Temple, having twice written to the King upon the subject, received no satisfactory reply: he therefore contented himself with pursuing the prescribed forms of mediation, while preparations were making by the belligerent powers for the prosecution of the war.

In February the Prince visited Guelderland, for the purpose of regulating the new magistracy, and other matters connected with his office of stadtholder. On that occasion the deputies of the Duchy and of the Earldom of Zutphen unanimously offered him the sovereignty of those provinces, with the title of Duke of Guelderland, and Count of Zutphen. The Prince replied, that he would give them no answer on a matter of such moment, without first consulting the other provinces; and immediately communicated with those of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, requesting their advice upon the subject.

No circumstance of the time caused so strong a sensation in the political world. Some ascribed it to the ambition of the Prince; others laid the whole upon the young advisers by whom he was surrounded; and a few to a wish of obtaining the credit of refusing after they should have advised him to accept it. Whatever part the Prince or his friends may have had in this matter, it

is at least certain that the deputies, magistrates, and nobles of Guelderland were much interested in the success of the measure; for, although Guelderland is the chief province of the Union, still, by reason of its poverty, in consequence of the barren nature of the soil, it is less considered than many of the others; and the war having still farther tended to depress them, they considered there was no means of regaining such a credit among the States as suited their rank, but by raising the Prince of Orange to the sovereignty.

The province of Zealand advised the Prince not to accept the offer, on account of the jealousy it might raise in the other provinces, and its inconsistency with the constitution of the Union, which left none of the provinces at liberty to dispose of their sovereignty without the consent of the remainder. Utrecht recommended his Highness to accept the offer, as did also the Pensioner Fagel, and Monsieur Beverning; but the length of time required to obtain answers from so many towns, gave room to reflections which induced him to decline it. He considered that a sovereign prince in Holland would be the indirect occasion of decreasing the trade, and thereby the riches and influence of the country, and thus remain without power or consideration; whereas the Princes of Orange, in the post they had held for four generations, had entered into wars and treaties with a weight and credit equal to most of the crowned

heads in Europe: independent of these considerations, the Prince was much influenced by the feeling expressed by the inhabitants of Amsterdam, who not only publicly assigned reasons to the States against the acceptance of the offer, but also privately notified to him, that in such a case their city would be utterly ruined; that the merchants would call in all their capital, and even during the few days the report had existed, upwards of 300,000*l.* had been drawn out of the bank. So great, indeed, was the alarm at the bare notion of having a native sovereign, that it was commonly considered at Amsterdam preferable to fall under the dominion of France. It is remarkable how much trading interests depend on public opinion.

On the Prince's return to the Hague, Sir William Temple informed him that he had received a letter from his master, mentioning that reports had been spread of his Highness's intention to come over to England before the approaching session of parliament, and directing that minister to use his endeavours to prevent such a step. The Prince denied that there existed any foundation for this report; it might have originated with Lord Arlington, who had spoken of such a journey in case of the peace being concluded: but he much regretted that the King gave credit to such rumours. Being desired at the same time by his master to ascertain once more upon what terms the States believed a peace might be consented to by the confederates, Sir William entered fully into the subject with the Prince and

the Pensioner: the Prince said, when that question should be asked the States in the King's name, their answer would be, that they must confer with the ministers of their allies; and that being done, the ministers of Spain and the Emperor would reply, that they had no orders to concede any thing beyond the terms of the original treaty of the Pyrenees. He was surprised the King was ignorant on what ground he stood, after he had gone so far as to say what he would endeavour to urge upon the Allies, provided his Majesty concurred in the plan: they, being once united in views and opinion, could go far in bringing matters to a termination. He had proposed the exchange of Charleroy, Aith, Tournay, and Oudenarde, for Aix and St. Omer; the four first being requisite in order to leave Flanders in a posture of defence, and the two last important to France as inlets into that kingdom. If the King of England approved of these terms, as forming a safe foundation for a durable peace, he would do his utmost to bring it about, and he doubted not that the answer of the French monarch would be such as to open the way for further negotiation.

In the afternoon of the same day the Prince came to Sir William Temple in great excitement, saying, he had received a most insolent letter from Lord Arlington, asserting that there had been plots laid in Holland for exciting seditions in England; telling him also that there were wounds in Holland not yet healed, which the Prince interpreted as

threatening him with a fate similar to that of De Witt. All this much enraged the Prince, who declared that, since he could not correspond with the King's ministers, he must do so with the King himself, and desired Sir William so to convey his letters that they might come into no other hands. Suspicions certainly existed in England of the Prince having a design to form a faction in the ensuing parliament, but to be openly charged with it, feeling himself to be entirely free from any such idea, was what nettled him exceedingly. Another circumstance which occurred about this time added much to his irritation. One Vickfort, being seized in Holland, was, among other crimes, accused of having intelligence in France and England during the war, and at that moment with France and Sweden, in order to form a party in the state against the Prince and the established government. On examining his papers, many letters were found evidently proving that persons in England had endeavoured to stir up a faction in Holland, and both the Prince and the Pensioner asserted that the letter of Lord Arlington appeared to them written for the purpose of founding a pretext on which to carry their machinations forward. However, they assured Sir William that no notice should be taken, either in England or Holland, of what had been discovered in Vickfort's papers.

Count Waldeck was soon after despatched to Vienna to concert the operations of the approaching summer. In March the Elector of Brandenburg

came to Cleve, for the same object, where he was met by the Prince of Orange and the Marquis de Grana: at the same time a Danish ambassador arrived at the Hague to try what advantage his master could obtain in the present crisis, by threatening to enter into an alliance with Sweden, who had already thrown off the mask and declared in favour of France. While matters were in this state of suspense, great alarm was experienced by the confederates, in consequence of the Prince of Orange falling suddenly ill of the small-pox. The anxiety evinced at that moment proved how completely he was looked upon as the main-spring of the whole machinery; and the knowledge that the same disease had proved fatal to many of his family, rendered them, if possible, still more alive to the evils the loss of so valuable a life would bring with it. Providentially, however, not only for the cause then at issue, but also for the welfare of those among whom he was destined to play at a future period a still more important and conspicuous part, through the care of an eminent physician, sent to him by the Elector of Brandenburg, he was, after a confinement of twenty days, enabled again to resume his share of public business. During his illness he was assiduously attended by Monsieur Bentinck, who himself, in consequence of his attachment to his master, caught the infection, and narrowly escaped falling a victim to its influence.

The Prince received the congratulations of all

the foreign ministers on his recovery, and it is remarkable that the King of France not only offered a formal compliment on the occasion, but even assured him, by means of Monsieur D'Estraves, that recent occurrences had not diminished his Majesty's esteem for him: to which his Highness replied, that the circumstances of the times had not lessened his respect for the king's person.

In the mean time, although as yet ineffectual, the mediation of England formally proceeded: it having been generally accepted, the first point to be considered was, to name a fit place for discussing the treaty. Sir William Temple having named Cleve and Nimeguen, the latter was at last resolved on.

The moment the Prince was perfectly recovered, he repaired to the general rendezvous at Rosendaël. On the other side the French had opened the campaign with the siege of Limburg with a part of their army, commanded by the Marquis de Rochefort, while the king, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé lay encamped with the remainder, in a position most convenient to oppose any attempt to relieve it; for which purpose, his Highness had joined the Dukes of Lunenburgh and Lorraine at Gangelt. Had not the town surrendered before the Prince could approach it, an engagement would probably have ensued between the French monarch and the Prince of Orange.

Limburg being taken, Louis encamped near Tillemont, ravaging the country about Louvain,

Brussels, and Malines. He wished much to make himself master of Louvain, but was too narrowly watched by the Prince and the Duke de Villa Hermosa. Neither party appeared very desirous to risk a battle, so that, about the end of July, the French king, weary of a dull campaign, left the army to the Prince of Condé, and returned with his court to Versailles. At the same time Charles II., seeing the negotiations for peace for the moment inactive, summoned Sir William Temple to London, that he might give an account of the observations he had made on the posture of affairs abroad.

The Prince of Orange and the great Condé maintained respectively so careful a watch of each other's motions, that neither could gain any advantage. The Prince of Condé, however, was suddenly called away, in order to take the command of the army on the Rhine, and stop the progress of Montecuculi, the celebrated Marshal Turenne having been killed by a cannon ball, while making his observations near the village of Saltzbach, in Alsace, just at the moment when it was expected that he and his equally great rival would have come to a decisive action. By this catastrophe France was deprived of one of her ablest generals, between whom and his great contemporary, and sometimes rival, Condé, it is difficult to determine the superiority. The former had not, perhaps, an equal career of success, having more than once been defeated; but whenever he was sensible of having committed any error, unlike many others, he had

sufficient greatness of mind frankly to admit it. In a word, his character is best recorded in the memorable and heroic words of General St. Hilaire, who, when his arm had been struck off by the very same ball which deprived Turenne of life, on seeing his son weeping beside him, exclaimed, "Ce n'est pas moi, c'est ce grand homme qu'il faut pleurer." Condé was succeeded in Flanders by the Duke of Luxemburgh, who had orders narrowly to watch the motions of the Prince of Orange, without hazarding a battle, and to cover any town that might be threatened. He performed his part so well that no further action occurred this summer in the Netherlands, with the exception of the taking and razing of the small town of Binch by the Prince. His Highness, however, had the credit of preventing Luxemburgh from entering the territory of Triers, by which means, after the defeat of Crequi at Con-sarbruck, the city fell into the hands of the Imperialists. This occasioned so great a change in the aspect of affairs, that Charles wrote to Sir William Temple, on his return to the Hague in September, requesting him to point it out as an argument in favour of the Prince being at ease on the subject of the peace; that, in fact, the too great power of the house of Austria was now a matter of apprehension rather than that of France: to which the Prince replied, that there was no fear on that score, till they should have got beyond the terms of the peace of the Pyrenees; that whenever such should be the case, he should become as much a Frenchman

as he was now a Spaniard : that he never could consent to any treaty separate from the Allies : he believed they would be reasonable, and if France was so likewise, peace might be made ; if not, another campaign might bring them to reason. Had the Spaniards acted in full concert with him, their successes in Flanders would have been certain ; and if Montecuculi had not been impatient to find himself at Vienna, in consequence of some court intrigues, and therefore recrossed the Rhine in order to winter his army within the circles of the Empire, he might have given a finishing blow to the French cause in Alsace. After this conference Sir William Temple bent all his thoughts upon forming a congress at Nimeguen, where difficulties awaited him which fully required all his superior and statesmanlike qualifications to surmount.

CHAPTER V.

DEATH OF THE PRINCESS DOWAGER EMILIA DE SOLMS, AND OF ADMIRAL DE RUYTER. — MISSION OF SIR GABRIEL SYLVIUS TO HOLLAND. — THE PRINCE OF ORANGE DECLARES TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE HIS DESIRE OF MARRYING THE PRINCESS MARY. — OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN FAVOURABLE TO THE FRENCH. — REPEATED CONFERENCES BETWEEN SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE ON THE SUBJECT OF PEACE. — VALENCIENNES AND CAMBRAY TAKEN BY THE FRENCH. — SIEGE OF ST. OMER. — THE PRINCE ADVANCES TO ITS RELIEF. BATTLE OF MONLEASSAL. — LETTER OF LOUIS XIV. TO CHARLES II. — THE PRINCE DESIRES TO VISIT ENGLAND, BUT DEFERS DOING SO, AT THE REQUEST OF CHARLES. — HE BESIEGES CHADBURG, BUT IS COMPELLED TO RELINQUISH THE UNDERTAKING.

WHILE the Prince was still in the field, he received the intelligence of the death of his grandmother, the Dowager Princess of Orange, better known as the celebrated Emilia de Solms; a lady whose renown for surpassing beauty, as well as a superiority of understanding and mental endowment far above the generality of her sex, was equally great. She had lived to see the first wish of her heart realised, by the restoration of her grandson to the dignities possessed by his ancestors, and to enjoy the still greater triumph of witnessing the brilliant success of his opening career, which proved him not unworthy his illustrious descent: though the future high station he was destined to fill was then beyond human foresight to anticipate, she had at least the satisfaction of beholding her house restored to all its well-merited splendour. Although

possessed of no very great income, she combined with economy an equal share of hospitality and good taste ; and deservedly gained the reputation of being, in respect of firmness of character, sound sense, and fascination, both of wit and manner, one of the most celebrated among the females of her time.

A memorable instance of the Prince's unshaken firmness on the subject of the peace occurred this year. A sum of 200,000*l.* was due to his family from the crown of Spain, ever since the peace of Munster. An agent of his at Madrid had at length, with great difficulty, obtained an order from the queen regent for 50,000*l.* The bills, when brought into Flanders, were protested ; and, upon the Duke de Villa Hermosa endeavouring to excuse the matter to his Highness, he replied, that he had reason rather to take it well of the Queen : because, if she did not consider him to be the most honest of men, she would not have used him in this manner. Nothing, however, of this kind should deter him from acquitting himself with honour of all his engagements with the Allies.

The States had also this year to deplore the loss of the famous Admiral de Ruyter, who was killed in an engagement with the French fleet near Messina. He was unquestionably the ablest naval commander of his time ; and, like his predecessor Tromp, fell fighting in the cause of his country. On the other side, the Swedish affairs in Pomerania

were unpropitious; and the Swedes themselves became desirous of peace. They disapproved the pretensions of France to Lorraine, which appeared to obstruct it; and declared their intention of sending a minister to the congress, whatever might be the course pursued by France. Their commissary at the Hague so well seconded this new disposition of his court, that ships and passports were speedily despatched by the States to bring over the ambassador. The confederates were, besides, greatly encouraged by the very high tone assumed by the English parliament, during its recent session, against France.

The measures taken towards effecting a peace seemed only to render the contending parties more diligent in their preparations for war. The French army, headed by the King, were marching into Flanders; the Prince of Orange was also preparing to take the field: the campaign was expected to open with some great battle; all thoughts of the congress meeting for the present were laid aside, when, about the middle of May, 1676, Sir William Temple received the French passports for the Duke of Lorraine, according to the form insisted upon by the allies. Every difficulty being thus removed, about the beginning of July, Sir William went to the congress at Nimeguen, where the French and Dutch ambassadors were already assembled, anxiously awaiting his arrival, as the other English commissioner, Sir Lionel Jenkins, declined transacting any business without him.

Notwithstanding all that Sir William Temple had stated to his sovereign on the subject of the peace, Lord Arlington, pretending certain intelligence from his relations in Holland, endeavoured to persuade the King that he did not know the real sentiments of the Prince, in consequence of not having some one near his person who could obtain a greater degree of influence over him than it was in the power of Sir William Temple to do. Although the Prince had desired the King to be assured that he would not open his mind fully to any one else, still Lord Arlington pursued his point, and prevailed in sending over Sir Gabriel Sylvius; but his Highness would not so much as consider him in the light of a confidential agent, or enter in any way, with him, either upon the subject of the peace, or his communications with England. He considered that the mission of Sir Gabriel Sylvius had been designed by Arlington to annoy Temple, and sow the seeds of jealousy among the confederates, by making it appear there was something passing between the King of England and himself, which was not to be entrusted to Sir William. Some of the ministers at the Hague actually entertained this suspicion; but De Lyra, the Spanish minister, a man of character and penetration, was always firm in his belief of the Prince's unshaken constancy as well as upright course of conduct.

The Prince, being ready to take the field, informed the British ambassador that before his

departure, he wished to have some conversation with him in private, and for that purpose requested that he would meet him in the garden at Hounslaerdyck. Sir William having arrived at the time appointed, his Highness stated, that, being the only son that was left of the family, he was often pressed by his friends to think of marrying, and had many persons proposed to him, as their several humours led them. That for his own part he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excused himself from the thoughts of it, otherwise than in general, till the war should be ended. Besides, his own friends, the deputies of the States, began now to press him more earnestly upon the subject every day, and the more so when they saw the war likely to continue; and perhaps they had greater reason to do so than any others. That he had at last promised them he would think of it more seriously and particularly, and so had resolved to marry; but the choice of a person he thought very difficult. He found himself inclined to no proposal made to him out of France or Germany, nor, indeed, to any that had been mentioned on this occasion, by any of his friends, but that of England. Before he concluded to make any advances that way, he was resolved to have Sir William's opinion upon two points; but yet would not ask it, unless he promised to answer him as a friend, or, at least, an indifferent person. Sir William telling him he should be obeyed, his Highness went on, and said, that he would confess to him,

that, during the late wars, neither the States nor he in particular were without applications made them from several persons of consideration in England, who would fain have engaged them to head the discontents that were raised by the conduct of the court in that war, which, he knew, was begun and carried on quite contrary to the wishes of the nation, and might, perhaps, have proved very dangerous to the crown, if it had not ended as it did. That all those persons who pretended to be very much his friends, were extremely against any thought of his marrying in England. The reasons urged were, that he would by it lose all the esteem and interest he possessed in that country, and be believed to have run wholly into the dispositions and designs of the court, which were generally thought to differ from those of the nation, especially upon the point of religion. That his friends there did not believe the government could be long without some great disturbance, unless they changed their measures, which was not considered very likely to be done ; and upon this he desired the ambassador's thoughts as a friend. The next point was as to the person and dispositions of the young lady ; for though it would not pass in the world for a prince to seem concerned as to such particulars, yet, for himself, he would tell him, without any sort of affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no circumstances of fortune or interest would engage him without those of the person, especially those of humour and disposition. That although he might,

perhaps, be very easy for a wife to live with, still he was sure he should not to such wives as were generally in the courts of this age; that if he should meet with one to give him trouble at home, it was what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the course of his life. And that after the manner he was resolved to live with a wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one he thought likely to live well with him, which must chiefly depend upon her disposition and education; and if Sir William knew any thing particular of the Lady Mary as to these points, he desired he would tell him freely.

Sir William Temple answered his Highness, that he was very glad to find him resolved to marry, such a step being what he owed to his family and his friends; that he was much pleased to hear his inclination led him to form an alliance in England. This he considered as much for his interest, as others of his English friends thought the reverse. That the King and his Highness were able to do one another more good, and more harm, than any other princes could do each other, by being friends or enemies. It was a great step to be one degree nearer the crown, and in all appearance the next. As to his friends (as they pretended to be) in England, they must see much farther than he did, to believe the King in any such dangers or difficulties as were represented. That the crown of England stood upon surer foundations than ever it had done in

former times, and the more so for what had passed in the last reign ; and he believed the people would be found better subjects than perhaps the King himself supposed. That it was, however, in his power to be as well with them as he pleased, and with tolerable policy he might reign in peace, though not perhaps with so much ease at home, or glory abroad, as if he fell into the views of the nation. Even if the court were of sentiments different from those of his Highness, still his advisers might make him a greater compliment in believing him as likely to reduce the court to his ideas, as to be brought over to their own ; and, if that should happen, the most seditious men in England would be hard put to it to find an objection to such a match. That, for the other point, he could say nothing to it, but that he had always heard his wife and his sister speak with all the advantage that could be, of what they were able to discern in a Princess so young, and from what they had been told by the governess, with whom they had a particular friendship, and who, they were sure, took all the care that could be, in so much of the Princess's education as fell to her share.

At the close of the above conversation, the Prince decided upon writing both to the King and the Duke of York, requesting permission to go over to England at the close of the campaign. The lady of the British ambassador, a person remarkable for good taste and sound sense, being

about to set out on some private affairs, was appointed to be the bearer of the letters, and during her stay was commissioned to obtain every information regarding the person, manners, and disposition of the young Princess. His Highness, having delivered the letters in question to Lady Temple, returned to the army, while she proceeded to England for the purpose of setting on foot an alliance, as important in itself as it proved subsequently most eventful as regarded the best interests of England.

Whatever certain writers may urge against the personal character of William ; however much they may seek, both in his domestic life and general manners, to make him appear cold, unamiable, and disagreeable, certain it is that his sentiments, delivered to Sir William Temple on the present occasion, evince both sound sense and moral rectitude ; and it would be well for mankind, at least in their social intercourse, were such feelings more frequently to be found among sovereign princes : that the whole course of his conduct in the marriage state was in accordance with the sentiments expressed, those even who may view both his character and actions in the most unfavourable light will be unable to dispute. William certainly did not possess that natural affability and kindness of manner so well calculated to captivate the public mind ; he did not, like his antagonist, Louis XIV., attempt to obtain popularity by outward display ; and, on contrasting his manners with those of the sovereigns of

England who had preceded him, not to the courtier only, but even to many capable of appreciating real merit, he might have appeared in an unamiable light: so much are the vices of royalty apt to be cancelled, in the estimation of the world, by specious address or courteous demeanour; in fact, the very crimes of a monarch are often forgotten amidst the splendour that surrounds him. But William affords a remarkable instance where the want of these external and passing attractions has been the cause of real justice having been denied to his memory; for, unquestionably, in all the moral duties of private life, he was alike upright and honourable.

The French, during the present campaign, were as successful as their allies the Swedes were unfortunate. By means of a constant supply of money, and good management, the French magazines were always well filled during the winter, so as to enable them to take the field early in the spring; while the Spaniards, from want of both order and funds, were incapable either to act by themselves on any sudden emergency, or to supply with provisions either the Dutch or German troops which came to their assistance: their towns were ill fortified, and as badly defended; and Louis, together with Marshal Créqui, had little difficulty in forcing Condé to surrender, although the Prince of Orange was known to be advanced as far as Granville in order to its relief. In May, the King sent the Duke of Orleans to besiege Bouchain, a strong place, and very important to the security of the Spanish Ne-

therlands. Louis posted his army so as to prevent the Prince of Orange either from relieving it, or fighting without disadvantage; so that the place surrendered on the eighth day. The Prince has been censured by some writers for having neglected to force the enemy to an engagement when it was in his power to have done so; but there is reason to believe that he was hampered by the over cautious course pursued by the German commander, who was unwilling to risk the consequences of a decisive action; and thus Louis acquired the glory of the campaign, from having taken a strong place in the face of the enemy.

The Prince of Orange, however, being resolved not to suffer the summer to elapse without making some attempt to signalise himself, concerted with the Spaniards and the German Princes on the Lower Rhine to lay siege to Maestricht, which, although considered the strongest of the Dutch fortresses when it fell into the hands of the French, had received the further advantages of modern fortification since they possessed it, and was now garrisoned by 8000 chosen men, commanded by Calvo, a resolute Catalonian, under Marshal d'Estrades, the governor, who was then at Nimeguen. The trenches were opened about the end of July, and the siege carried on with such desperate bravery, that it was generally expected the place would be taken. Either the Prince himself, or the Rhinegrave, were continually encouraging the soldiers by their presence: many of the outworks were carried, with

great slaughter on both sides, but were recovered again with all the art and industry a resolute commander and a brave garrison could put in practice. About the middle of August, the Prince, too rashly exposing his person, received a musket shot in the arm, which, for a moment, greatly daunted those about him ; but quickly pulling off his hat with the wounded arm, and waving it over his head, in order to convince them it was not serious, proceeded without relaxation to prosecute the undertaking. Sickness, however, having broken out in his army, the forces he expected from the Bishop of Munster and the Dukes of Luxemburg not arriving to reinforce him ; and, finally, the Rhinegrave, who next to himself was the mainspring of the undertaking, having died of a wound he had some time previously received, affairs could no longer be carried on with the same spirit. Meanwhile, Marshal Schomberg having taken Aire, a place of considerable strength, and commenced marching with all the French forces through the heart of the Spanish Low Countries to the relief of Maestricht, the Prince found himself reduced to the necessity of abandoning the enterprise.

It is said that, although the Prince made use of the services of Marshal Schomberg in his expedition to England, and the subsequent reduction of Ireland, he never could entirely forget his having compelled him to retire from before Maestricht. It is also stated that, during this siege, his Highness made some severe observations to Colonel

(afterwards Sir John) Fenwick, who commanded a body of English recruits ; in consequence of which, that officer ever after retained a feeling of personal enmity towards him.

The campaign being ended, those parties engaged in the war began to turn their attention more towards the progress of the treaty of peace than they had hitherto done ; and the Prince of Orange, much dissatisfied with the supineness of the allies, desired an interview with Sir William Temple at Soesdyke, near Amesfort. Here his Highness complained much of the counsels of the allies ; the weakness, or rather uselessness, of the Spanish troops in Flanders, for want of pay or order ; the Imperial armies acting without plan upon the Rhine, and with a dependence upon orders from Vienna, where division among the ministers wrought such distraction and counter-paces in their generals, that the campaign had been ended with little effect, after the promises of vigorously invading either Lorraine or France ; and lastly the Dukes of Lunenburgh had failed to send their troops to Maestricht, which, with the sickness in the camp, had rendered that siege unsuccessful ; so that he began to despair of any good issue to the war, and would be glad to hear that his Excellency hoped a desirable peace might be concluded at Nimeguen. Sir William told his Highness how little advances there had been hitherto made, by reason of the slowness of his allies in despatching their ministers thither ; how

little success could be expected from the pretensions of the parties when they should meet, especially France claiming to retain all that they had got by the war, and Spain to recover all that they had lost ; how Charles II. seemed resolved to act only as a mediator, his ministers being directed only to convey the proposals of the parties one to another, and even to avoid the offers of any references upon them to the King of England's determination ; so that it was his opinion that the war alone that must make the peace, and this he supposed it would do, at one time or another, in consequence of the weakness or weariness of one of the parties. The Prince seemed to be of the plenipotentiary's mind ; and said, the events of war would depend upon the conduct pursued at Madrid or Vienna before the next campaign ; for, without some great success, he could not believe the States would be induced to continue it longer.

Sir William observed, that he had conversed with Monsieur Colbert, one of the French plenipotentiaries, upon his arrival at Nimeguen ; in which conversation much was said concerning his Highness, whom the French were disposed to favour in any way they could, provided he did not prove inexorable as to the terms of peace. To this the prince coldly replied, that he had heard enough of the same kind another way, which Monsieur d'Estrades had laid open to Pensionary Fagel ; but that they knew him little who made such overtures ; and as for his own interests and ad-

vantages, let them find a means of saving his honour by satisfying Spain, and nothing relating to his concerns should retard the peace for an hour.

The conversation being ended, the English minister returned to Nimeguen, where the French appeared very earnest in bringing about a treaty, which they had the greater reason to desire, being in a posture to insist on retaining their present possessions; and, like winning gamesters, willing to give over, unless compelled by the losing party to play on. The Swedes were, for other causes, equally desirous of peace. The Dutch, finding that France would make no difficulty in acceding to their individual objects, became also weary of the war; but Denmark and Brandenburg, who had looked to obtain between them the possessions of Sweden in Germany, viewed the matter in quite another light. The Emperor was disposed to rest satisfied with the restitution of Lorraine and the towns of Alsatia, to the position they were left in by the peace of Munster; yet so completely bound up were they with the German allies and with Spain, that they resolved to take no step in the treaty but by common consent. Lastly, Spain, though sensible of the bad condition of her affairs, both in Flanders and Sicily, had yet conceived great hopes of experiencing a change for the better, in consequence of a plot then forming at Madrid to remove the Queen Regent and her ministry from power, and to place Don John at the helm; moreover, they trusted to the assurances given

by their ministers in England, that his Britannic Majesty would not suffer Flanders to be lost. For the above-mentioned causes, the allies did not seem disposed to hasten the final settlement of the treaty; but, about the end of September, the French ambassadors gave notice to the English mediators, that their master had resolved upon their recall, unless the ministers of the allied powers repaired to Nimeguen by the 1st of November. This declaration had the effect of causing some of the allied sovereigns to hasten the departure of their ambassadors. Upon the delivery of their respective credentials into the hands of the English mediators in November, the Dutch made several exceptions to some expressions in the French and Swedish prefaces; and, finally, agreed in desiring the English mediators to draw up a form that would be applicable to them all: this was accordingly done, and approved; the French merely suggesting whether it would be proper to mention a mediation, since that of the Pope was left out: but the English ambassadors could not consent to such an omission; stating, that the whole plan of the congress had emanated from the King of England, without any intervention on the part of the Pope. The Spanish ambassador took part on this question with the French; while the Danes, as well as the Dutch, refused to admit any mention of the Pope's mediation. In such disputes ended the year 1676.

About the latter end of December, the Prince

earnestly desired the presence of Sir William Temple at the Hague ; when his Highness declared how little he thought was to be expected from the congress, and enquired of the English minister whether he had heard any more from his master on the subject of the peace ? Sir William alluded to a letter recently received from him, in which regret was expressed at the little desire the Prince had evinced towards its conclusion ; and, finding it equally ineffectual to ascertain the real feelings of France, on the one side, and those of his Highness on the other, he must content himself with acting the formal part of mediator. The Prince replied, that as his Majesty alone was able to make the peace, such a declaration displayed much coldness ; since he must be well aware of the little progress to be anticipated from the congress. For his own part, he earnestly desired it, as essentially necessary to the best interests of the States. He would not declare this to any one besides the King, lest France, upon coming to the knowledge of it, should be found prepared to make less reasonable demands. Spain and the Emperor were, indeed, now less disposed to it than at the close of the last campaign : if his Majesty would let him know fully the conditions upon which it could be brought about, he would unite sincerely in the business with him, provided only it were consistent with his own honour and the interests of his country.

Two days after, Sir William had a conference

with Pensioner Fagel, who declared that the States considered a peace absolutely necessary; indeed, that they would not insist upon all the conditions laid down by the allies, nor would he be answerable that they might not make a separate treaty with France. Upon Sir William Temple expressing a hope that they would take full time to consider upon a matter of such moment, the Pensioner replied, that they had already reflected upon it; that although he should individually regret being compelled to make a separate treaty, still he did not see what else was to be done. Sir William enquired what he thought would become of Flanders in case the Dutch made a separate peace? Monsieur Fagel answered, that he believed Cambray, Mons, Namur, and Valenciennes might be lost in one summer; that the interior towns would offer no resistance, except Antwerp and Ostend, with regard to which some arrangement might be made with France, according to the offer tendered to De Witt in 1667. Sir William asked whether he thought the States could continue on terms otherwise than discretionary with France after the loss of Flanders? The Pensioner begged him to believe, that, if they could hope to save Flanders by war, they would not think of a separate peace; but, if it must be lost, it had better not occasion further exhaustion of their country: they could so continue with France as to make it the interest of that power rather to preserve their estate than to destroy it; the Dutch fleets would be more

useful to France than a few poor fishing towns, to which they would reduce them in case of becoming their conquerors: the French king knew their country, and declared that he had rather see them his friends than his subjects: the separate treaty must be adopted as a desperate remedy: he believed England would never permit France to proceed to the full extent of her ambition, or would be satisfied either to behold the loss of the whole of Flanders, or still less that of Sicily, on account of the trade in the Mediterranean: the British monarch might have made the peace any time during the last two years, upon such conditions as were consistent with the safety both of his neighbours and himself: every body knew France was not in a condition to enter upon a war with England, supported by the other allies. All this had been represented to the British court, but not a word had been received in reply; although, should a separate peace be made with Holland, France would be fully at liberty to carry on any designs against Italy, Germany, or even England.

The following morning Sir William informed the Prince of his conference with the Pensioner, and alluded to his observation, "that he knew not a man in Holland who entertained a different opinion from him respecting the necessity of a separate peace." The Prince instantly interrupted him, saying, "I at least know one, and that is myself; and I never can hold such an opinion." Sir William enquired whether he was of the same

feeling with the Pensioner relative to the result of the next campaign? His Highness replied, that appearances were not favourable; but campaigns did not always end as they commenced; accidents might happen which no man could foresee, and no one could answer for the event of a battle: the King of England might at once bring about the peace; but, if he suffered this season to pass, he must, for his own part, go on and take his chance.

Sir William reported the result of the conference to his court, in order that the King might want no information at so difficult as well as dangerous a crisis. Charles replied, complaining much of the confederate ministers in London caballing with the parliament, and exciting the public mind against the peace as much as they could; which made it very difficult for him to take any measures with France, unless the Dutch ambassador would put in a memorial calling upon him to do so on the part of the States; and declaring that, otherwise, Flanders would be lost. Both the Prince and the Pensioner were willing to comply with the wishes of the King relative to the language to be adopted by the Dutch ambassador; but his Highness urged Sir William Temple once more to ascertain his Majesty's real feelings on the question of the peace before the season for opening the campaign should arrive. Sir William desiring the Prince to reflect that by this course some time would be lost, and adding, that his master would esteem it a kindness if the Prince would first explain himself, his

Highness paused for a time, and then said that, in order to show the confidence which he desired should subsist between himself and the King of England, he would no longer delay doing so: that he thought the King might make a peace grounded upon that of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he could do the more easily because he had been both its original framer and guarantee; that the only exchanges to be proposed would be those of Ath and Charleroi for Aix and St. Omer, which two last places he considered to be of most importance to France, unless they were prepared to declare that they were only intending to end this war with the prospect of commencing another, in order to gain possession of the rest of Flanders. This would be sufficient as regarded France and Spain: with respect to the Emperor and the States, they having first taken Philipsburg from the French, should raze its fortifications, the French doing the same with regard to Maestricht: thus would the war be ended, leaving the state of things much in their original position.

Sir William was not a little surprised to hear proposals so clear, decisive, and apparently easy of accomplishment: he observed, however, that his Highness had not referred to Lorraine or Burgundy, and inquired whether he thought it likely France would make restitution of her recent acquisition without receiving some equivalent? The Prince answered, that both these points were explained by the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; that

France never pretended to retain Lorraine, except from the last duke, and that Spain could not part with Burgundy without France restoring so many towns in Flanders as would become the subject of endless debates. With regard to the other question, he doubted whether France would be amenable to reason without the vigorous interposition of England. If that interposition was not exercised, the war must go on, and Providence decide between the contending parties: the King could not do a kinder act than bring him out of this war with honour upon moderate terms; but the allies would run every risk rather than receive such only as France might dictate: that Holland should never make a separate peace while he was alive to prevent it; and he believed he was able to make good his assertion. Sir William reported this discourse to his master; and, in the meantime, Sir Lionel Jenkins, his colleague at Nimeguen, having given an account to his court that secret negotiations were passing between the French and Dutch plenipotentiaries for a separate treaty, received an immediate order to protest against it in his Majesty's name; which, however, was not acted up to, in consequence of Sir William Temple having represented the little necessity there was for putting it in force.

Sir William Temple having received his Majesty's answer to his despatches, proceeded immediately to Duren, to communicate it to the Prince. The King's answer consisted of two parts: first, an

offer to enter into the strongest defensive alliance with the Dutch, thereby to secure them from any apprehension from France after the peace should be made; and, secondly, his belief that matters might be arranged with France by the exchange of Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer, for Ath, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Condé, and Bouchain.

The Prince's countenance fell when Sir William named Cambray and the other towns: nevertheless, he heard him with patience, and listened, besides, to the reasoning of Secretary Williamson on the subject. He then said, that, as the hour of dinner had arrived, he would enter more fully upon the subject afterwards, though he must even then tell him that would rather die than consent to such a peace.

After dinner the Prince told the ambassador that he had not expected such a return, after the confidence he had evinced towards his Majesty. The offer of alliance, he observed, had come to him in a letter from the King himself, but that about the terms of peace from the secretary only. He was convinced they had been dictated by the French ambassador, and were more intolerable than would have come direct from France: in short, all must be risked, since there appeared no other way of getting out of the business: for his own part, he would rather charge a thousand men with only a hundred, and the certainty of destruction before him, than conclude a peace on such conditions.

Sir William imparted to his court what had passed at this interview, and received an answer from Sir

Joseph Williamson as unsatisfactory to the Prince as the former had been ; who observed, that he was sorry to find the King's views on the subject of the peace so different from his own. He considered the campaign as commenced ; and probably, while they were talking, the guns were playing before Valenciennes : that he expected rather a long war than a peace, unless, indeed, Flanders should be lost, in which case the States must make the best terms in their power. He anticipated a bad beginning of the campaign, and to make but a poor figure himself, perhaps even to be responsible for the faults of others ; yet, if the Emperor should perform what he promised, the result might be more propitious : that, however, he was in, and must go on ; adding, "*when one is at high mass, one is at it ;*" meaning, that he must go on till matters were brought to an issue destructive to the one party or the other, for there was no means of escape. After this interview, which took place at Soesdyke, a house belonging to the Prince, his Highness went direct to the Hague, while Sir William returned to Nimeguen ; where although most of the preliminaries were adjusted, all negotiations continued at a stand till towards the end of April.

While the plenipotentiaries at the congress were contending about trifles, the essential parts of the treaty were warmly disputed with fire and sword in the field. France had early in the year overrun the country between Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, and blockaded these three im-

portant places, boasting that she would gain possession of at least two of them before the confederates could take the field. The French, at the same time, broke into Germany on the other side of the Rhine, ravaging and laying waste every thing before them. The Duke of Luxembourg invested Valenciennes with an army of 50,000 men: Louis came in person to the camp, and so animated the troops by his presence, that, notwithstanding a gallant defence on the part of the garrison, commanded by the Marquis de Risburgh, they were compelled to surrender at discretion. Encouraged by this success, the French King immediately sat down before Cambray, a town of great trade, and which had been eighty years in the possession of the Spaniards. After a few days' siege the garrison, consisting of 1400 horse and four regiments of infantry, surrendered. At the same time St. Omer was besieged by the Duke of Orleans with a large army. This rapid progress of the French so alarmed the Netherlands, that the Prince of Orange resolved at once to take the field. Owing to the usual delays and neglect of the Spaniards, he could not arrive in time to succour Valenciennes or Cambray, but determined to risk a battle for the relief of St. Omer. The two armies met at Montcassal, where, after a sharp action, the first regiment of the Dutch infantry began to give way. The Prince, perceiving their disorder, went at once to the post of danger, rallied them several times, and renewed

the charge, but at last was quite borne down by the flight of his men. It is said that in his anger he struck the first of the fugitives across the face with his sword, exclaiming, "Rascal, I'll set a mark on thee at least, that I may hang thee afterwards!" Nothing remained but to make a good retreat, which his Highness effected with great credit to himself and satisfaction to the States, who besought him to be more sparing in the exposure of his person. The consequence of this battle was the speedy surrender of St. Omer, and an eager desire on the part of the States to bring about a peace, seeing how negligent the Spaniards were in the defence of their own territories. The French, satisfied with their uninterrupted success, resolved, during the remainder of the summer, to play only the defensive game; and Louis returned to Paris, leaving Créqui to oppose the Duke of Lorraine, and Luxembourg to observe the motions of the Prince of Orange.

In the mean time, the Spaniards, imprudently relying on what they thought would be the interest of their neighbours, supinely abandoned to their care the preservation of Flanders. They knew Holland would save it if she could, that England could if she would, and would at last be induced to do so by the increase of danger, and the popular feeling at home. In this presumption they were strengthened both by Don Bernardo de Salinas, their envoy, and Fonseca, their consul, at the British court, who very industriously fomented the excitement which the

success of the French arms, both in Sicily and Flanders, occasioned in the parliament. An address was moved to the King, entreating him to take measures to check their progress before they should become dangerous, as much to England as to her neighbours. Salinas informed some members of the Commons that the King was incensed at this address, calling its authors a company of rogues. His Majesty resented this as an act of malice on the part of Don Bernardo, or at best a design to inflame the Commons, and ordered him to depart the kingdom in a few days : nevertheless, a month after, the parliament addressed the King on the same subject, praying him to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with the Dutch, in order to stem the formidable career of France. This the King considered an encroachment on his prerogative, returned an angry answer, and prorogued them the week following.

The King of France, however, observing the motions alike of friends and enemies, and more especially the temper of the English parliament, was so fully aware of the alarm and jealousy which existed both in England and Holland lest he should design the entire conquest of Flanders, and sensible of its possible consequence, that he sent over the Duke de Créqui from Dunkirk with a letter to Charles, stating that, in order to show he had no intention of conquering Flanders, but rather desired a peace, he was ready, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained and the forces he had at command, to

make a general truce for some years, provided his ally the King of Sweden would agree to it. This point he requested his Majesty to ascertain, not having himself the means of a free passage for couriers to Sweden.

Various were the constructions put upon this letter: it was generally looked upon as a crafty piece of policy on the part of the French king, in order to induce Charles to wave the declaration his parliament so earnestly pressed upon him. The French ambassadors at Nimeguen made a great show of it till they found it producing a different effect from what was intended, and that it was taken by most persons for a gross artifice. Monsieur Beverning, of all others the most desirous of peace, expressed his feelings upon it in the strongest terms. France, he said, had struck her blow, and would prevent the allies from returning it. The reserve of Sweden's consent was an easy plea for avoiding the truce, in case the allies should accept it. This could not be done, because Flanders would be left so entirely open as to be easily overrun by the next invasion: the towns now possessed by France would, in consequence of the truce, become absolutely French, and thus be the less easily regained, either by war or by treaty. For his own part, he desired the peace, being convinced that the King of England would not enter upon a war, even to save the very last town in Flanders. Consistently with this opinion, he endeavoured to bring it about by all the means in his power; so that about July all

points were in a fair way of being adjusted between France and Holland, and Monsieur Beverning began to act the part of something more than a mediator, by pressing on the allies the necessity of consenting to a peace in a somewhat unceremonious manner; although with little effect; for there was nothing done during the remaining summer except sending backwards and forwards relative to the affair of the Duke of Lorraine.

In the mean time the ministers of the confederates in England earnestly pressed upon the King the necessity of recalling such of his troops as were in the service of France, attributing their successes in Germany to the valour of those English regiments. This his Majesty excused himself from doing, on the plea of his mediatorial character; which was by no means satisfactory to the allies. The expectations of the great actions promised by the Imperialists on the Rhine were not realised; their troops finding no subsistence in these countries, which the French had laid waste in the early part of the year. The Prince of Orange perceiving no resource for the confederates unless in the King of England, and that he himself was likely to pass the remaining summer in marches and countermarches, the French being resolved not to hazard a battle, and he unable to invest any town, sent Monsieur Bentinck to England, requesting permission to make a journey thither the moment the campaign was ended, both in order to pursue his intended marriage, and to concert with his Majesty

the means of bringing France to reasonable terms. The King returned him a civil answer, but expressed a wish that he would defer his journey until the peace should be concluded.

About the middle of July Sir William Temple went over to England, being recalled by the King, in order to assume the office of Secretary of State, which Mr. Coventry had just resigned. No sooner had he arrived, than the King entered into conversation with him, in his closet, in the presence only of the Duke of York and the Earl of Danby: the subjects of their discourse were, the peace, and the Prince of Orange's journey into England. The King always expressed a great desire for the first, but would rather the other should be postponed till the former should be brought to a conclusion: his parliament, he said, would never be quiet while the war lasted abroad: they pretended dangers from France; but such an alarm had been excited by factious leaders, who thought more of themselves than anything else, and wished to engage him in a war, only to extricate him from it on their own terms. The longer it continued, the worse, he foresaw, it would be for the confederates; and therefore he wished the Prince would make the peace for them, in case they would not make it for themselves: that if he and the Prince once could come to an understanding, he was sure it might be effected. After several conferences on the subject, the King much wished Sir William to try if he could persuade him to it.

Temple represented to his Majesty how often he had been employed on the same errand, how immovable he had always found the Prince, and how certain he was to find him so still, unless the King would propose some other plan for the peace: that his Majesty would do well to try some other negotiator, and thus become more clearly convinced respecting the Prince's views, provided his replies should be the same as before. The King said it was an affair of confidence between him and the Prince, and scarcely knew whom to send: Sir William at once removed the difficulty by proposing Mr. Hyde, a choice approved of by all present. He was despatched accordingly, but found the Prince resolutely adhering to the terms he had proposed to Sir William Temple.

Towards the end of July the Prince of Orange sat down before Charleroi, and would have besieged it in form, had the Duke of Lorraine succeeded in diverting the French army from relieving it; but Luxembourg, leaving a sufficient force under Créqui to oppose the Duke, marched towards Charleroi at the head of 40,000 men. Upon this, the Prince called a council of war, to decide whether he should march out to fight the enemy, or raise the siege: the latter opinion prevailed, and his Highness retired into Flanders. Finding the French were resolved to continue on the defensive, and preserve what they had acquired, he left the army near Brussels, under Count Waldeck, and returned to the Hague. Thus ended the campaign of this year.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE PRINCESS MARY.—REFUSES TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF PEACE.—HIS DECIDED CONDUCT.—CHARLES, WITH THE ADVICE OF LORD DANBY AND SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, CONSENTS TO THE PROPOSED MARRIAGE.—GENERAL SATISFACTION EVINCED BOTH IN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND ON ITS SOLEMNISATION.—BILL OF EXCLUSION.—NEGOTIATIONS AT NIMEGUEN.—OVERBEARING CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH KING.—SEPARATE TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND HOLLAND.—EVASIVE CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH COURT.—ENGLAND UNITES WITH HOLLAND TO COMPEL THE EVACUATION OF THE SPANISH TOWNS.—VACILLATING CONDUCT OF CHARLES.—PEACE OF NIMEGUEN.—DESPERATE ATTACK MADE ON THE FRENCH EMBANKMENTS BY THE PRINCE OF ORANGE AFTER THE SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY.—HIS CONDUCT VARIOUSLY CONSIDERED.

IN the month of October, the Prince, embarking for England, with a noble retinue and magnificent equipage, accompanied by Lord Ossory, Don Carlos, and the Duke of Albemarle, landed at Harwich on the 19th of that month: he proceeded at once to Newmarket, where the court then was, enjoying the sports of the country. He was received, on alighting from his carriage, by Lord Arlington, who pretended to be entirely in his confidence. Sir William Temple and the Lord Treasurer went together to attend him; when he addressed them both, saying to Sir William, “that he must request to be so well recommended to the Lord Treasurer, that they might, from that time forward, enter into business and conversation to-

gether, as if their acquaintance had been of a much longer date." This conduct was very politic ; for Lord Danby's influence at court being very great at that time, proved essentially serviceable to the Prince in the object which brought him to England. All this was not pleasing to Lord Arlington and his party ; still no one who knew what had passed between him and the Prince could feel any surprise on the subject. His Highness was very kindly received both by the King and the Duke of York, who frequently endeavoured to bring him into discourse upon matters of business ; but this he studiously declined, saying, he was resolved to see the young Princess before he would enter upon any conference either about peace or war.

The Prince, on his arrival in London, after having seen the Lady Mary, was so charmed with her person and manner, that he immediately solicited the approbation of the King and the Duke of York to his suit. His Royal Highness received the proposal with great coldness : it was assented to by his Majesty, but with this condition, that the terms of peace abroad might first be agreed on between them. The Prince excused himself, saying, he must end his first business before he began the other. The King and the Duke adhered resolutely to their view of the case : the Prince equally so to his, saying, that the allies, who were not likely to have favourable terms, would suppose that he had made this match at their expense ; and, for his own part, he would never sell his honour for a wife. Never-

theless, the King remained obstinate to his purpose for three or four days, and the whole affair was nearly broken off upon this punctilio. One day, Temple found the Prince in very bad humour, regretting that he had ever come to England, and resolved to leave it in a few days; but, before his departure, the King must resolve upon what terms they were hereafter to be: he was convinced it must be on those of the greatest friends or enemies. Sir William immediately reported this observation to the King, who began to be alarmed, and foresaw how ill his departure would be taken by the public. He knew that the religion of the Duke had inspired the nation with dismal apprehensions; and, though he had obliged his brother to allow his daughters to be educated in the Protestant faith, something more, he thought, was necessary, in order to satisfy the people. The arguments both of Danby and Temple were strongly urged in favour of the alliance, as an antidote to the unpopularity of the late close connection with France, as well as to avoid the danger of the malcontents in England cementing a close union with the Prince, who was much revered throughout Europe. Charles, therefore, under all these circumstances, resolved to yield at once with a good grace; and, after having eulogised his nephew's honesty, desired Temple to inform his brother of the marriage as a thing resolved on. The Duke, at first, evinced some surprise, but observed, that the King's wishes should be obeyed, and wished that all his subjects

would learn from him to obey him as readily. It is, however, said that he never forgave Lord Danby for the part he acted in bringing it about.

Never had any event occurred, during the reign of Charles II., which diffused such general satisfaction throughout the nation; all parties seemed to vie in expressions of joy and congratulation: the French ambassador and Lord Arlington were, perhaps, the only two persons who did not participate in the general feeling; the one, because he should find it difficult to account to his master for an affair of that importance being transacted without his advice, or even knowledge; and the other, that it should have taken place without any previous communication with him, he having originally endeavoured to establish a belief in the Court of his being entirely in the confidence of the Prince.

His Highness immediately despatched an express to the States, informing them of what had passed, and expecting their approbation of the match with all speed, that he might the sooner repair to them for the service of his country. Thereupon, the States General, having assembled, and maturely weighed the advantage which might accrue to them from this marriage, — a confirmation of the union between England and Holland, the establishment and aggrandisement of the house of Orange, with the conclusion of the peace so earnestly desired, over and above the choice the Prince had made of a princess in every way accomplished, — expressed their approbation by a public

edict, in terms full of joy and satisfaction, declaring the high esteem they had for such an alliance, and their firm resolution to cultivate the ancient friendship and good understanding which existed between them and his Britannic Majesty.

This answer arriving in London on the 4th of November, the marriage was solemnised the same evening, with little pomp; but, on the following day, the public rejoicings on the event were great and general. Soon after, the Prince entered into a discussion with the Duke and the King on the subject of the peace; to which conference Sir William Temple and the Lord Treasurer only were admitted. The Prince strongly insisted on the necessity of strengthening and extending the frontier on each side of Flanders; otherwise France would only conclude the present war with the prospect of more advantageously entering upon another after the dissolution of the present confederacy: her ambition would never be satisfied till she had acquired all Flanders, and Germany as far as the Rhine; thus rendering Holland absolutely dependent upon her, and placing England in no enviable position: neither could Europe expect a lasting peace without the restitution of Lorraine, as well as of what the Emperor had lost in Alsace. The King was confident the French were so weary of the war, that, provided they could get out of it with honour, no other would be undertaken during the present reign; he considered that the King of France, no

longer in the prime of life, would have recourse to the pleasures of his court, attend to internal improvements, and leave his neighbours alone.

Sir William Temple told the King that, in the whole course of his experience, he had never observed men's natures altered by age ; quiet or restless spirits remained the same, whether young or old. The King of France would always have some object of excitement, whether it might be of war, intrigue, or internal grandeur ; he, therefore, concurred with the Prince in believing that he would never make peace but with the design of commencing a new war, as circumstances might favour his views. The questions respecting Lorraine and Alsace were readily assented to by the King and the Duke of York ; but they would not hear of France consenting to part with Burgundy ; and the King, thinking his Highness was an interested party on that point, told him that he would answer for his enjoying the possession of his lands in that country with as much security under the dominion of France as of Spain. To this the Prince generously answered, that he should not trouble himself, or hinder the progress of peace, upon that matter ; and would readily bear the loss of all his lands, to obtain one town more for the Spaniards on the frontier of Flanders. Finally, it was decided between them to make a peace on the following terms :—That France should restore to the Emperor all that had been taken from him during the war ; Lorraine to the Duke ; to Spain, the towns of Ath, Charleroi,

Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guillain, and Binche. The Prince was to procure the consent of Spain, and the King that of France. For this purpose his Majesty was to send some one immediately over with the proposition, who should be instructed to enter into no reasoning upon the matter, but demand a positive answer within two days, and then return forthwith. The next question was, who should be the person appointed? The Lord Treasurer declared no one would, from his perfect knowledge of the whole business, be better suited for it than Sir William Temple; to which the King assenting, he was ordered to be in readiness within two days: but Charles, the next day, considering that Temple would not, from his known sentiments respecting the French, be welcome at that Court, resolved to send the Earl of Feversham, a creature of the Duke's, and a Frenchman by birth; saying that, the message not being the most agreeable, it was as well not to aggravate matters by sending a disagreeable messenger.

Louis received the message with apparent complacency. He told Lord Feversham, that his master knew he could at any time bring about a peace; but there were some towns in Flanders which it seemed hard to demand — especially Tournay, where immense sums had been expended on the fortifications; he would therefore take a short time to consider his answer. Although Lord Feversham's stay was limited to two days, he was pre-

vailed on to remain some little time longer, and at last came away without any definite reply. Louis expressed a hope that Charles would not break with him on account of one or two towns; adding, that he would send orders to his ambassador in London to treat with the King himself. Charles was won over by this seeming conciliatory tone; and thus the blow was artfully eluded. Barillon, the French ambassador, acknowledged, afterwards, that he had orders to yield every place except Tournay, and even to treat about some equivalent for that fortress, should the King absolutely insist upon it, but the Prince of Orange, who had infused some spirit into the English councils, had departed, and the negotiation began to dwindle into a series of messages between the two Courts.

Some historians pretend that the Prince was eagerly watching the progress of the Bill of Exclusion, which, by passing into a law, would have placed the Princess Mary next in succession to the throne; it is even said that he privately reproached Lord Berkeley, when he informed him of his having endeavoured to persuade certain members of parliament to oppose it. That the presence of the Prince in England might have given spirit to those who dreaded the consequences of having a sovereign whose religious principles were known to be those of the Romish Church, may readily be supposed; but whatever may have been his secret wishes, it is much more consistent with that reputation for pru-

dence which he ever enjoyed, that he should have acted a thoroughly neutral part ; the circumstances in which he was then placed, with the many difficulties he still had to contend against, fully justify the latter impression ; more especially, as the contrary assertion seems founded on no sufficient authority, nor could such conduct have been at that moment in any way consistent with his interests.

The Prince did not remain longer in England than necessity required ; but departing from London, with his bride, on the 29th of November, and landing at Terheyde, went from thence to Hounslardyke, where, having remained a few days, they made their public entry into the Hague with extraordinary pomp, and amidst the greatest rejoicings. Previous to his departure, the King assured him that he would never swerve in the least from the proposal sent over to France, and would be ready to enter into a war in case of its being refused ; but his Highness, knowing the parliament to have been prorogued to the following spring at the instance of Barillon, could not reasonably place any confidence in his uncle's declaration.

The news of the Prince's marriage had reached Nimeguen some time before, and gave the confederates great hopes that the King of England would now declare in their favour : but the French emissaries in Holland contrived to excite jealousies respecting the Prince ; and a suspicion that, by this alliance, he had been entirely brought over to the

interests and sentiments of his uncle and father-in-law ; while his Highness went away possessed with the belief of having converted them to his own views. The popular feeling, however, being excited in England upon the rumour that proposals for a peace had been submitted to France, the King, finding that no definite answer was likely to be returned by that Court, and feeling the absolute necessity of, for once at least, making a show of acting with vigour, recalled his troops in the French service, and summoned the parliament to meet on the 15th of January. Temple was informed by the King, that he intended to send him to Holland, to make a treaty of alliance with the States, in order to compel France and Spain into a compliance with the terms agreed on. Sir William, regretting to find this act of vigour qualified by an appearance of indifference between the parties, told the King, the resolution agreed on was to enter on a war, in conjunction with all the confederates, in case of no satisfactory answer being received from France : such a course could alone satisfy the allies, the Prince, and the people of England ; whereas the present mode would disoblige both France and Spain, while it would prove satisfactory to not one of the allied powers : on these grounds Sir William declined the employment ; and Mr. Lawrence Hyde, second son of Chancellor Clarendon, was sent in his place. The Prince could not behold without contempt such a mixture of vigour and weakness in the English councils : he determined, however, to

make the best of a measure he could not approve; and as the Spanish minister privately sanctioned a league which, though seemingly directed also against his sovereign, was intended to act only upon France, the States concluded the proposed treaty on the 16th of January. Charles then despatched Mr. Montague to France, in order to induce the King to accept his terms; but Louis at once rejected them, and made preparations to open the campaign earlier than usual. Upon this, Charles communicated to his parliament the late alliance he had made with Holland for the general repose of Christendom, and demanded supplies to carry on the war in case the peace could not be brought to a conclusion. The House of Commons thanked his Majesty for the regard he had shown the protestant religion, in having married his niece to a protestant prince; entreated him not to consent to any peace with France, unless upon terms more favourable than those of the Pyrenean treaty; and, after a long debate, resolved to equip a fleet of ninety ships of war, and to raise an army of 30,000 men, besides a million of money: but, notwithstanding all this, many difficulties were started by the Commons with regard to the army, which the House looked upon as likely to be used more as an engine against the liberties of the people, than as a check to the progress of France: indeed, so great and incurable appeared the jealousies between the King and the parliament, that it was doubtful whether Charles seriously meant to enter into a war; and, in case

he did, whether the House of Commons would not have taken advantage of his necessities, and only granted supplies in proportion to the sacrifice he would make of his authority.

The King of France was not backward in availing himself of all the advantages such distractions afforded. Having, by his emissaries, already endeavoured to sow the seeds of distrust in Holland, by pointing out the Prince's recent alliance by marriage with England as calculated to endanger their liberties; he resolved, by active measures, to follow up his plans, and spread a general panic. Taking, therefore, the field about the end of February, and feigning an attack on Luxemburg, Namur, or Mons, he suddenly crossed the country, and made himself master, first of Ghent, and then of Ypres; thus, giving great alarm to Holland, and greater influence to those whom he had already disposed to his own conditions of peace. The Duke of Monmouth soon after arrived with a considerable force to secure Ostend: and Louis, either thinking he had done enough, or wishing to avoid a decided rupture with England, conducted his army into quarters.

About this time, the French King entirely abandoned Messina and all Sicily. This was ascribed by the English parliament to the design of having greater forces at command for the subjugation of Flanders: they therefore petitioned the King to declare open war against him; and granted a Poll Bill by the same act, prohibiting the import-

ation of all French commodities. Charles was desirous to enter into a league with the Empire, Spain, and the United Provinces, obliging them to make the same prohibition relative to the French goods; but while the Dutch were demurring on a point which might possibly bring ruin on their trade, an unexpected event occurred, which changed the whole face of affairs.

The King of France, seeing his Britannic Majesty so warmly urged by the parliament to enter upon a war, made a public declaration of the terms upon which he was disposed to make peace, which he sent to his minister at Nimeguen, there to be distributed among the other ambassadors and mediators. The chief proposals were, that the King of Sweden should be entirely satisfied; that the Bishop of Strasburg should be restored to all his honours and prerogatives; that his brother, Prince William of Furstenberg, should be set at liberty; that the Emperor should adhere to the declarations made at the treaty of Westphalia, only he offered to give up Philipsburg or Fribourg, whichever he might wish; that he would restore to Spain, Charleroi, Ath, Oudenarde, Courtray, Ghent, Limburgh, Binche, and St. Guillain, with their dependencies; but demanded in return, all the Franche-Comté, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambrai, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Werwick and Werneton, Bavay, Maubeuge, Poperingue, Bailleul, and Cassel. He consented to surrender Charlemont to the King of Spain; or, in lieu of it, Dinant

and Bouvines, provided the Bishop of Liege and the Emperor would agree to it; by which means the Spanish frontier in the Netherlands would for the future extend from the sea to the Meuse, by Nieuport, Dixmude, Courtray, Oudenarde, Ath, Mons, Charleroi, and Namur. With regard to the States General, besides the satisfaction he must afford them by what he yielded to Spain, he was willing to restore to them Maestricht, and to agree to the treaty of commerce framed by Monsieur Beverning; he was ready to reinstate the Duke of Lorraine according to the Pyrenean treaty, or to surrender all his territories to him except Nancy; but would give in lieu of it the important city of Toul, reserving to himself a passage from his frontiers into Alsace, and the roads that would be necessary to Nancy, and from thence to Metz, Brisac, and the Franche-Comté.

The above terms, though differing much from those agreed on between England and Holland, and still more from the pretensions of the allies, nevertheless formed the basis of the approaching treaty. Louis concluded, by haughtily declaring that these were the final conditions he would accede to; that his enemies might make choice upon them of peace or war; and in case of their not agreeing to them by the 10th of May, he should after that time consider himself at liberty to change or retain them as he might think fit.

The Imperialists were least inclined to accept such conditions, and the question of full satisfaction

to Sweden was intolerable to the northern princes. Even the Spaniards considered them so hard, that they would hazard every thing rather than yield. When the French ambassador laid them before Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was then the sole mediator, he merely observed, that he would inform the other parties of their nature, but could not promise any answer. This he did in consequence of the previous terms agreed upon between England and Holland, for forcing France and Spain to a compliance with the treaty. All this could not but make France apprehensive that the British monarch might at last make war in good earnest; and hence the cause of the desertion of Messina, in order to strengthen the armies on the Rhine.

To prevent the formidable conjunction of the King of England with the allies, Louis made use of an argument which, he knew, was most likely to prevail with a prince whom his expensive mistresses and a parsimonious parliament kept in continual want: he accordingly made an offer to Mr. Montague of a large sum of money to be paid to Charles on condition that he would not oppose the measures taken with Holland, to secure the peace upon the terms proposed by his master. The extreme desire of the Dutch to make peace, whatever might be the consequence, and the fearful distrust existing between the Court and the parliament, seemed in the eyes of Charles to justify his acceptance of the offer; who said, that since the Dutch were resolved to make peace on the French terms, and France offered him a

sum of money for his consent to what it was beyond his power to prevent, he saw no reason why he should reject it, and commissioned Sir William Temple to negotiate the business with the French ambassador; but that virtuous statesman and upright patriot, with a due regard to the honour of his sovereign, resolutely declined having any concern in a matter so truly nefarious and disgraceful.

The 10th of May being the time appointed for the final answer of the allies relative to the terms proposed by France, Monsieur Beverning, the Dutch plenipotentiary, secretly informed the French ambassador that the States would accept the King's offer. However, that he might not by such a step alarm the confederates, he informed Count d'Avaux that he was very desirous of speaking with him in private, and for that purpose would meet him on the ramparts of Nimeguen early in the morning. The result of the interview was, that ten days longer were granted, in order that the Dutch might endeavour to persuade the allies to accept the terms as they themselves had done. The King of France, informed of these advances, wrote a letter to the States, dated the 18th of May, from his camp at Deirse, wherein he assured them that he should always be willing to grant to Spain the same terms relative to Flanders, which they were now at liberty to accept; that he was ready not only to form the barrier they thought so essential to their own safety, but also to secure it, and to enable them to

enjoy, with the re-establishment of commerce, every advantage they could expect from his alliance: if they should think it necessary to send deputies, they would find him near Ghent till the 27th of the month. The States, after a consultation of four days, returned an answer, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at the sincere desire evinced by his Majesty for the establishment of a peace, they requested he would be pleased to receive Monsieur Beverning as their ambassador extraordinary. He accordingly attended the French King, and managed the negotiation so well, that he obtained a cessation of arms for six weeks in Flanders, to the end that the Dutch might, as mediators, endeavour to persuade the Spaniards to agree to the terms proposed. Beverning, on his return, assured the States that the King of France was as well informed of the conditions of his enemies as he was of his own affairs.

England, meanwhile, was become very indifferent on the subject of the peace, and Spain appeared disposed to make a virtue of necessity; but the Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburg, severely reproached the States for having concluded a peace upon unjust and arbitrary terms, without their consent: they were ready to treat with France upon equitable conditions; but would never allow themselves to be dictated to, as it were, by a conqueror, and would rather run every risk than submit. The States,

little moved by these reproaches, proceeded in their career, regardless of the interests of the other powers, excepting Spain, as far as the safety of Flanders was in question: and gave orders to their plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen to sign the treaty of peace with France on the 22d of June. But notwithstanding all this, an unexpected circumstance occurred, which had well-nigh overturned the whole proceeding, and caused the war to be renewed with redoubled vigour, in consequence of the co-operation of England.

In the conditions made by the States for the restoration of six Spanish towns in Flanders, no particular time had been specified for their surrender: the very day before the peace was to be signed, the Marquis de Balbaces, the Spanish ambassador, inquired at what time the six towns were to be restored; the French ministers immediately replied, that the King, their master, could not evacuate those towns until full satisfaction had been made to Sweden. The States immediately sent a special messenger to inform the King of England of this new and unexpected obstruction. Charles, fully aware of the discontent of his subjects at the enormous height of power to which France had risen, partly, it was supposed, from his concurrence in the first place, and afterwards from his want of energy, began to wish heartily for some opportunity of regaining, if it were even by a war, his lost popularity; he resolved, therefore, to send Sir William Temple to Holland, to concert with

the States upon the best means of vigorously opposing the views of France. In six days Temple concluded a treaty, by which Louis was obliged to declare that within sixteen days he would evacuate the towns; or, in case of his refusal, Holland was bound to continue the war, and England to declare immediately against France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy. Every thing in Europe now bore the appearance of war: France positively declared that she could not evacuate the six towns until full satisfaction should be made to Sweden; Spain and the Empire, little satisfied with the terms of peace imposed by Holland, saw with pleasure the prospect of a powerful support from England; while Holland, encouraged by the Prince of Orange and his party, was not sorry to find that the war would be renewed on more equal terms;—the allied army under the Prince was approaching to the relief of Mons, and a considerable body of English was ready to join him under the Duke of Monmouth.

No sooner was the treaty between England and Holland made known to Louis, than every project was set on foot in order to render it futile. Charles usually passed a great part of his time in the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth, who, as Mademoiselle de Querouaille, having accompanied the Princess Henrietta on her celebrated mission to England, had succeeded in captivating the British monarch, and remained in England in order to keep up the interests and influence of the French court. It was here that he frequently met

Barillon, the French ambassador, a man of agreeable conversation and plausible address. By means of his insinuations, aided by those of the Duchess of Portsmouth, an order, in an unguarded moment, was procured from the King, which entirely changed the face of affairs in Europe. Du Cros, a French fugitive monk, and a supposed agent of Sweden, was despatched to Sir William Temple, desiring him immediately to repair to Nimeguen, and there to induce the Swedish ministers to consent that France should no longer defer evacuating the towns; assuring them that, after the peace, the king of England would use his utmost endeavours to bring about the restitution of whatever had been taken from them during the war. Sir William, on his arrival at Nimeguen, three days before the term fixed by the late treaty was to expire, found all parties obstinately adhering to their respective demands. The prospect of peace, therefore, seemed desperate, and the allies imagined they were secure of obtaining what they had so long aimed at, a war against France in conjunction with England. On the morning, however, of the critical day which was to decide whether a permanent peace or an indefinite war should take place in Europe, the French ambassadors declared to Beverning that they had orders to consent to the evacuation of the towns; upon which he immediately signed the peace. Du Cros having, by the direction of Barillon, every where in Holland proclaimed the nature of his mission, the Dutch

minister, who could not but place little faith in the fluctuating councils of England, deemed it well for the republic to end the war on any terms ; and the treaty was accordingly signed the 11th of August, 1678, between eleven and twelve at night, notwithstanding the solemn protestation of Denmark, Brandenburg, and the Emperor, who declared such precipitate conduct to be unworthy a state which had always acted with decision and prudence, and that it would be an everlasting stain on its honour and reputation.

The very next day, Temple received an express from England, which brought the ratifications of the treaty lately concluded with the States, Charles having resumed his inclination for war. The ministers of the other powers conceived a hope that the States would, under these circumstances, disavow their ambassador's proceedings, and renew the war. The Prince of Orange took an extraordinary step, in order, if possible, to compel them to such a measure. Mons had been blockaded by the French army under Luxembourg, who boasted that his position was so strong that with 10,000 men he could defy the Prince of Orange with 40,000. However, on Sunday, the 17th of August, the Prince, breaking up from Sorgnes, advanced towards the enemy, who were posted near the Abbey of St. Denis, in such an advantageous situation as to be considered almost inaccessible. The Duke of Luxembourg was feasting with his officers, when the Prince's dragoons penetrated

into the abbey, forced the French general to rise from table, and seized upon his plate before he could well recover from such a surprise. About three in the afternoon, the battalions under Count Waldeck commenced an attack upon the abbey, seconded by the Spanish troops under Villa Hermosa, and the English and Scotch under Lord Ossory. The action lasted till nine at night, when the confederates remained masters of the Abbey of St. Denis. The Duke of Luxembourg retired in great confusion, and the Prince next morning took possession of the camp the enemy had abandoned. On the same day he received an express from the States with an account of the peace having been signed at Nimeguen, which prevented him from following up his success. He immediately communicated the intelligence to the Duke of Luxembourg, who having expressed a desire to see the Prince, they met in the field, accompanied by their principal officers. The interview was marked by an interchange of civilities suitable to the occasion ; and the French are said to have been very desirous of seeing one who had made so much noise in the world as the Prince of Orange, and who had shown so much energy and courage during the engagement.

The conduct of the Prince was not altogether thought to be undeserving of censure in this transaction ; many considering it, with reason, to have been too great a risk, as well as sacrifice of lives, merely for the sake of the honour and glory of the

exploit; especially as it has been supposed that at the time his Highness could not have been ignorant of the treaty having been signed. Others laid the entire blame upon the Marquis de Grana, who, they pretended, had intercepted and concealed the packet for the Prince, which had reached the camp the day before the battle; hoping that the progress of the peace might be interrupted by thus breaking through it at the very onset. It certainly does not appear probable that the Prince could have been entirely in the dark as to what had occurred at Nimeguen; and as his individual disapprobation of the terms upon which the proposed peace was based was never concealed, the supposition that, encouraged by the new course adopted in England, he might have anticipated by such an action the renewal of hostilities, and, therefore, brought on the engagement above described, appears more worthy of credit, than that the despatches forwarded to him by the States were intercepted by Grana. Admitting the correctness of the former assumption, it will be difficult to justify an act which must necessarily have caused the destruction of many lives to little essential purpose; and a wanton disregard of the safety of his men is, perhaps, the severest reflection that can be passed upon a commander. In the present instance, the natural desire of a young and heroic prince to prevent, if possible, a treaty taking effect, which he could not but consider both inconsistent with the dignity of his country, and a violation of those conditions

which the States were bound in honour to maintain towards their allies, may be pleaded as some excuse for a measure, the success of which could not palliate its rashness. At any rate it must be allowed, that, however much, on the score of bravery and military glory, it may be extolled, calm reflection and a sense of right cannot fail to give it some degree of condemnation. Such is the fairest view in which the case can be considered, in the event of the Prince of Orange, ere he commenced the attack in question, being aware of what had passed at Nimeguen. If, on the other hand, the charge against Grana, of having intercepted the despatches, is founded on fact, it assumes quite a different aspect.

While the public attention was busied in conjecture about the state of affairs, the King of England sent over Mr. Hyde, to express to the States his surprise at their having signed a treaty with France, even without including Spain; to complain of the new pretensions France had advanced upon Beaumont and the town of Bovines; and to contend that the late treaty, therefore, between him and the States ought to take effect; adding that, if they would refuse to ratify what their ministers had signed at Nimeguen, he would declare war immediately against France.

Mr. Hyde, who, with Sir William Temple, had gone to Hounslaerdyke to inform the Prince of this message, had no sooner withdrawn, than the Prince declared to Sir William, that nothing could be more unsteady and fluctuating than the councils of

England ; for, if this despatch had arrived a little sooner, it might have changed the whole face of affairs ; and, by compelling France to accept reasonable terms of peace, have left the world in a quiet state for many years to come ; but now it would have no effect whatever. Charles, indeed, on this occasion, went farther than words ; he hurried on the embarkation of his troops for Flanders, and gave every encouragement to those who, in Holland, were opposed to the peace ; but the States had been too often deceived and disappointed to place any confidence even in these more obvious symptoms of his being in earnest.

The French king, unwilling to lose the great advantages he had obtained by this treaty, resolved to remove all difficulties by satisfying the demands of the States ; he sent ambassadors to the Hague accordingly, with full authority to remit all differences between Spain and himself to their determination. This conduct gave them so good an opinion of his sincerity, that, quickly adjusting all matters between the two crowns, the treaty was signed on the 20th of September. The Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Brandenburg were very much enraged at being left to treat singly with their powerful enemy, who imposed very severe conditions. The ratification of the Spanish treaty being delayed, the French king, in order to hasten its conclusion, sent Marshal D'Humières with an army into Flanders, to plunder and burn all before him ; the inhabitants complained

bitterly of the evils they were compelled to endure, in consequence of the slowness of the Spanish councils; and both the Emperor and Spain were at length obliged to give in to the demands of Louis. The other princes, however indignant at thus being deserted, were forced to make what terms they were able. Charles, observing that he could no longer prevent it, sent over his plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen to sign the general treaty. Various causes of dispute arose between France and Spain, which the States were very assiduous in adjusting, with the advice of the Prince of Orange, whose judgment was continually referred to. He himself evinced much generosity, in not impeding what was for the advantage of his country, by demanding any remuneration for the injuries done to his several estates in Flanders and elsewhere. The general peace was finally concluded in January, 1679; and the English mediators immediately called home, where the King was fully employed about the matter of the celebrated Popish Plot; which some believed to be real, while others looked upon it as a mere contrivance of party. It is said that the Prince of Orange at this time declared to a minister of state, that he believed the King to be a Roman catholic at heart, though he dared not profess himself such.

Thus Europe, for the present, was left in a general peace; although Louis, soon after, made very unjust pretensions to certain dependencies of his late conquests, both in Flanders and Germany, in all of which he succeeded, no prince or state being

either able or willing to oppose him. The French monarch had now reached the height of that glory in which ambition is wont to delight. His ministers had appeared as superior in the cabinet, as his generals had proved themselves experienced in the field; he had carried on a successful war against a powerful, and, if it had only been well organised, an almost invincible alliance; he had made considerable conquests, enlarged his territories on every side, and finally dictated the terms of peace. The allies were so enraged against each other, that they were not likely soon to form any new confederacy; and thus he had a prospect of attaining a power in Europe, unequalled in former ages. These circumstances, while they exalted the spirit of the French, were viewed with indignation by the people of England. Charles, they considered, had completely acted a part subservient to the interests of the common enemy. While Spain, Germany, and Holland loudly called on England to lead them on to liberty and victory, their king, instead of assuming the glorious position of deciding the balance of power in Europe, suffered himself secretly to be bribed to an alliance contrary to the best interests of his people. His neutrality was as ignominious as his active schemes had formerly been pernicious; and it is not easy to conceive any two monarchs who formed so striking a contrast, at the close of this memorable war, as did Charles II. and Louis XIV. The compassion and ridicule of foreign powers, the mistrust and

contempt of his own subjects, were the natural consequences of the weak, vacillating, and meanly selfish conduct of the British king; while the hatred and fear of his enemies, the blind devotion of his subjects, and the mingled admiration and alarm of the political world, accompanied the career of the monarch of France.

CHAPTER VII.

DEPARTURE OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE FROM THE HAGUE. — HIS SUBSEQUENT RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC LIFE. — PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE. — VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORY OF ORANGE. — REMONSTRANCE OF THE STATES-GENERAL. — THE PRINCE TURNS HIS ATTENTION TO THE FUTURE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY. — VISITS ENGLAND. — MEETING OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONERS AT CAMBRAY. — UNJUST PRETENSIONS OF FRANCE. — A TREATY OF TWENTY YEARS SIGNED AT THE HAGUE. — REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES. — CRUEL PERSECUTION OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS. — DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND.

Soon after the final conclusion of the treaty of peace, Sir William Temple took leave of the States-General, having been recalled by the king to assume the office of secretary of state. Both the Prince and the States saw, not without regret, the departure of one in whom they had, at so many critical periods, reposed unlimited confidence, and whose talents as a negotiator were only equalled by the honour and uprightness of his character. Sir William declared to the Prince, that, although he must obey the call made on him, still, if he found, on his arrival, matters to be in the state they appeared in the distance, he would not undertake the duties of such an office on any terms that could be offered. On his arrival in England, finding his apprehensions fully realised, he at once de-

clined it ; and shortly after retired from public life and the busier scenes of the political world, devoting his time to literary pursuits. But though withdrawn from the court, his opinions and advice were frequently sought by the leading men of the time ; and William himself, for several years, was constantly having recourse, upon critical points, to his judgment and experience. To the end of his days the talents of the statesman were never, even in his retreat, invoked in vain. As he will no longer take a lead in public events, it may here be proper to state, that he died, at an advanced age, at Moor Park, near Farnham, in the year 1700, enjoying his faculties to the last, and honoured with the respect and esteem of all classes of men ; as much admired for his shining talents as revered for his eminent virtues.

Louis XIV., not contented with taking every advantage of the weakness or timidity of his neighbours, in order, by force or stratagem, to strengthen and increase his acquisitions abroad, proceeded to raise a violent persecution against his own Protestant subjects at home. For the signal services performed by that body to Henry IV., in asserting his rights to the crown, that great prince confirmed them in the enjoyment of all liberties and privileges, civil and religious, by the celebrated Edict of Nantes ; this he declared should be inviolable : it was accordingly confirmed by his son, Louis XIII., and afterwards by the present king

upon a very remarkable occasion. Soon after he ascended the throne, being then very young, a civil war was excited against him, when the unshaken loyalty of the Protestants defeated the designs of his enemies, and secured the crown upon his head. In 1652 he made a declaration of this at St. Germain, and every one vied in proclaiming the merits of the Protestants; the queen mother acknowledging that they had preserved the throne. But since, according to the maxims of the Romish religion, no faith is to be maintained with heretics, the Jesuits and ministers of state instilled into the mind of the king the treacherous notion, that as the Protestants were once sufficiently strong to preserve the monarchy, so, on another occasion, they might aid in its overthrow. From such execrable reasoning it was resolved, without the smallest semblance of disloyalty on their part, that they must be entirely suppressed.

No sooner was the kingdom settled in a state of peace, than, in the Protestant towns of Rochelle and Montauban, the inhabitants were prohibited the use of their churches, and the free exercise of their religion, under the pretence of their having exceeded the grants allowed them: this was followed by processes throughout the kingdom, to inquire into the conduct of the Protestants, both as to religion and other matters, during the last twenty years; and, as there was no want of persons to swear to that which was false, the prisons were

speedily filled with innocent victims. They were next deprived of all public offices and employments, contrary to an express article in the Edict of Nantes ; and, moreover, forbidden to exercise several arts and trades for the support of their families.

All this occurred in 1679. In 1683, the nobles and gentlemen were commanded to dismiss their Protestant officers and servants, who, to consummate their misery, were forbidden, under severe penalties, to quit France in order to get their bread in other countries : severe taxes were imposed, and dragoons quartered upon them till all was paid ; then an edict was published, that children of seven years old should abjure their religion ; nor was it unusual to take them away from their parents. Protestant schoolmasters were prohibited, and three universities suppressed, although absolutely recognised by the Edict of Nantes. Such were the barbarous oppressions they suffered at the very time when Louis perfidiously assured the Elector of Brandenburg, who interceded in their behalf, that, so long as he lived, no harm should be done to them.

At this time, some of the persecuted people sent their children to Orange, in order that they might there finish their studies in security, it being a sovereign principality : but this so exasperated the King, that he despatched a body of 2000 men into Languedoc, who positively commanded the Prince of Orange's magistrates not to receive any of the

children into their schools, and to send back those who had come. The magistrates, in order to prevent further mischief, complied with this unreasonable demand, but were astonished to find that the French troops had received orders to demolish their walls; and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages were compelled to assist in the work of destruction. The Prince represented the case to the States-General as a breach of the last peace, desiring them to signify their just indignation at these arbitrary proceedings on the part of the French king, and to demand reparation for such horrid outrages, committed without the smallest provocation having been given.

The States accordingly, by their ambassador, represented this as an infraction of the peace of Nimeguen, and required satisfaction for the damages which the Prince and his subjects had so unjustly sustained, contrary to the faith of treaties. The only answer they could obtain from the French court was, that the money had been extorted from the inhabitants without the King's order; that, upon the people submitting to his will, he had withdrawn his forces, and restored a free commerce; but, with regard to other matters, he had reason for what he had done.

After the peace was concluded, the Prince turned his attention towards reforming the government of Utrecht and other towns, and, moreover, concerted with the States-General for the security of his country against the treacheries and pretensions of

France. He was usually present at the principal debates of the assembly, and appeared equally anxious and vigilant to prevent disorder at home, as to repel foreign aggression. In July, 1681, his Highness came over to England; and, having dined at Whitehall with Sir Stephen Fox, proceeded to Windsor, where the court then was; and, after a sojourn of ten days, returned to Holland. During the intervals of business, the Prince retired for relaxation either to Dieren or Soesdyke, and, at other times, made journeys in order to inspect the frontier towns belonging to the States. In 1682, orders had been given to fortify strongly the towns of Breda, Grave, and Naerden; and it was also proposed to raise 16,000 men to incorporate with the old regiments, besides adding a new squadron of twenty-four men-of-war, both to guard against any sudden inroads the French might make on their territories, and to aid the Spaniards in case of their commencing hostilities against them; an occurrence naturally to be anticipated, considering the shameful pretensions Louis had set up to dependencies in the Spanish Netherlands.

In 1682, the Marquis of Grana was made governor of Flanders, of which he gave immediate notice to the States-General and to the Prince; and, soon after, his Highness had an interview with him between Breda and Antwerp, where they conferred together respecting the future management of their affairs. The Prince also visited the fortified places in Flanders belonging to the States,

accompanied by the Princess, who was received with every possible mark of respect and distinction at Brussels, Antwerp, and other places. About this time, Count d'Avaux, the French ambassador, arriving at the Hague, sent in a memorial to the assembly, pointing out the manner in which he expected to receive his audience; but the States replied, that what he demanded was wholly unprecedented, and, therefore, could not be complied with. His audience was accordingly postponed until he should be disposed to receive it according to the original regulation. In the month of November, the envoy of Muscovy waited upon the Prince, at Soesdyke, to announce the death of the Czar, and the advancement of his successor to the throne.

By the treaty concluded between the crowns of France and Spain, it was agreed that commissioners should meet at Cambray in the year 1679, to regulate all disputes respecting the boundaries; but the French, taking advantage of the irruption recently made by the Turks into the Empire, seemed resolved to seize every opportunity of throwing difficulties in the way; and, relying on the weakness of the Spaniards, put in claims to entire provinces under the pretence of their being dependencies. The Prince of Orange beheld all this with indignation, but without being able to prevent it: all that at the moment could be done was, to engage the Emperor, Sweden, and the States, to enter into a mutual league of defence. Towards

the end of the year 1683, the King of Spain, no longer able to endure the continual aggressions of the French king upon his territories in Flanders, declared war against him both by sea and land, ordering the goods of all the French merchants in his dominions to be seized, and calling on the States General to assist him in this war of just defence, who decided to raise a considerable force, both for his aid and their own security; the Prince issuing several commissions, and sending 8000 men towards Flanders. In the mean time, Louis, having ordered large detachments to be despatched from all the conquered places towards Valenciennes, came there himself in April, 1684, accompanied by the Dauphin and Dauphiness; and having mustered his army between that place and Condé, immediately invested Luxemburgh. The Prince was most anxious to have completed the new levies, so as to have been in readiness to oppose him; but Amsterdam and other towns, induced, it was supposed, by the artifices of D'Avaux, refused to give their quota, so that his Highness found himself unable, with so small a force, to raise the siege of Luxemburgh, which capitulated on the 7th of June. A truce was soon after concluded for twenty years; which through the mediation of the States was agreed upon in a treaty signed at the Hague on the 29th of June, 1684, the Spaniards being compelled to put up with the loss of Luxemburgh.

As soon as the treaty for twenty years was ratified, the States were of opinion that they might

disband part of their forces ; but the members of the assembly considering that nothing ought to be done without the advice of the Prince of Orange, his Highness assured them, that while no one more earnestly desired than himself to ease the burthens of the people, still he could never consent to leave the country defenceless ; and insisted that they had need of all their troops till their affairs, both at home and abroad, were in a better posture of security. The States were easily persuaded to follow his advice, and not only kept up their present forces, but in the next and following years retained in their service several French protestant officers who had left their country on the score of religion, and who afterwards accompanied the Prince in his expedition to England.

While the French king was thus unjustly encroaching upon his neighbours, he was at the same time cruelly tyrannising over his Protestant subjects ; for in 1684 he resolved at once to revoke the edict of Nantes, and banish all the ministers out of the kingdom. Several young priests were sent about the country to inflame the populace against the Protestants : it was declared in print that the Catholic faith must be planted by fire and sword, and the example of a King of Norway was cited, who converted the nobles of his country by threatening to slay their children before their eyes, if they would not consent to have them baptized, as well as to go through the same rite them-

selves. The Protestants, sensible of the injuries designed against them, laid their grievances before the King with all humility and submission, which produced no other effect than to hasten their destruction. Troops of dragoons were quartered upon them, who loudly exclaimed that the King would no longer suffer any Protestants in his dominions, and that they must resolve either to change their religion, or to undergo the utmost cruelty that could be inflicted; to which they replied, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives and estates for the King's service, but their consciences being God's, they could not in the same manner dispose of them. Such an answer served only to enrage their cruel adversaries, and they were subjected to persecutions at which human nature revolts: nor was this enough; those who had not courage and constancy sufficient to persist in their faith, were driven by threats to declare that they had embraced the Roman Catholic religion of their own accord, and that force and violence had no share in their conversion. Meanwhile their houses and lands were destroyed, and an edict issued causing all Protestant churches throughout the kingdom to be pulled down: nor did the French King confine this persecution to his own dominions: he compelled the duke of Savoy to prohibit the Waldenses and Vaudois from exercising their religion, sending moreover an army under Marshal Catinat, who committed similar barbarities in those parts.

The Prince of Orange could not behold such proceedings without indignation, and was a sincere mourner over the miseries and persecutions which it was not in his power to prevent. Meanwhile, an event took place, which tended more than any thing else to cast a gloom over the prospects of the Protestant Church, occurring in the very quarter to which they would most naturally have turned for redress. This was the death of Charles II., which took place on the 6th of February 1685, leaving the throne open to the accession of a prince whose attachment to, as well as profession of, the Romish faith were undisguised, and whose known partiality to France, backed by religious bigotry, might force him into the most fearful extremes, endangering that basis upon which real liberty as well as freedom of conscience is founded.

That Charles died regretted by his subjects, with such prospects as the succession afforded, can easily be imagined : but that he ever could have enjoyed either their confidence or respect is clearly out of the question. He was one of those who had passed through the school of adversity, without having acquired that useful experience it sometimes imparts. The example of the past or the prospect of the future were alike disregarded, selfish objects of the moment only considered : he was always alive to pleasure, dissipation, or personal vanity, but equally insensible to the glory of the nation, as well as his own honour as a monarch : thoughtless and profuse in his expenditure, yet, whenever the opportunity of

being so occurred, mean, sordid, and rapacious. To say that his manners were engaging and agreeable, his demeanour courteous and polite, is but offering small amends for his other more prominent and pernicious defects. That he was not deficient of intellect or acquirement seems generally admitted ; that he could occasionally evince energy, and act a part becoming a king, proofs are not wanting ; but his natural indolence leading him to be the ready tool of whoever could by insinuation or address secure his favour, he never continued steady to any purpose ; thus forfeiting the confidence of his own subjects, and the respect of foreign powers. He could not, like his contemporary Louis XIV., combine dissipation with business, or, by the grandeur of his achievements in the state and the field, conceal, to a certain extent, the vices which pervaded his court. Although the character of morality can with as little justice be ascribed to Louis, still he never wholly lost sight of the conduct of a king ; and though regardless of the means by which he obtained his ends, he certainly possessed a mind formed for great undertakings, and a discernment which never suffered him to lose sight of the merits or defects of those with whom it was ever his fate to come in contact : while Charles, frivolously vain, without a proper feeling of pride, wavering and inconstant, the slave alternately of his mistresses and his favourites, both tarnished the national honour and degraded the sovereign character. That he died in the com-

munion of the church of Rome, having rejected the spiritual advice of the Protestant clergy, there appears little doubt; but that he ever was influenced by any religious principle whatever, may well be questioned. Two papers containing arguments in favour of popery were found in his cabinet, and afterwards imprudently published by his successor; still the whole life of Charles affords too much cause to conclude, that upon such a subject he was guided simply by what he might consider best suited to his personal views; and it is much to be feared, that scepticism formed not the least prominent feature in his character. In short, he lived revered or beloved by none, and his death was only matter of lamentation as it made way for a more obnoxious successor.

We are now arrived at a period which is alike pregnant with interest and difficulty: interesting, as it relates to events, the forerunners of that great and extraordinary revolution, which called the Prince of Orange to ascend the throne of England; and difficult, because the historian, whichever side he may uphold, cannot hope to escape incurring the charge of party feeling. We have to behold the monarch attempting to lull public suspicion, by declaring freedom of conscience and general toleration, merely for the purpose of opening a way for papists to attain the chief offices of state, and thus finally extirpate the Protestant religion. We have also to find the doctrine of passive obedience and

the divine right of kings set forth as some apology for the unconstitutional assumption of a dispensing power, to enable the sovereign to set aside and be above the laws. The consequences of such a course, the feelings it would awaken among all classes in a country where the regal power had once received so fearful a blow, might easily be foreseen, and the occurrences to which it gave rise could scarcely be matter of astonishment. That the conduct of the Prince of Orange must at such a time be subject to minute scrutiny and jealous investigation, is both natural and obvious. To drive a sovereign prince from his hereditary dominions, the father of his wife, and his own uncle on his mother's side, may in the abstract appear a violation of every tie, moral and religious : yet, independent of the too often recorded examples in every age, of the ties of blood availing little when political interests or territorial acquisition might be in question, it will be just and necessary to ascertain, whether the Prince of Orange can be fairly chargeable with having encouraged the rising feeling of disaffection in England, or whether the ill-advised course of an infatuated monarch did not either bring to pass that catastrophe, of which his Highness had no alternative, but either to take immediate advantage, or weakly abandon those rights which naturally devolved on his wife. That he was not an inattentive observer of all that was passing in England, may readily be concluded ; nor is it pre-

tended, that he lent any but a willing ear to the proposals that were made to him : but he did so as the champion of that religion it was clearly intended to annihilate, at a moment when the reigning monarch had transgressed all bounds, and violated every pledge,—when the national voice called upon him to uphold the laws, religion, and constitution of the realm, and rescue its most valued institutions from impending danger. That the Prince of Orange was therefore invited, as the acknowledged champion of Protestantism, to ascend a throne, from which his own reckless conduct had compelled his predecessor to descend, and that he cannot be charged with having encouraged or abetted rebellion against the person of his father-in-law, a slight review of the reign of James II. will suffice to prove. The national voice offered a willing allegiance to the one, which, in defence of their religion and laws, they were constrained to withdraw from the other.

CHAPTER VIII.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II. TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND.—HIS ADDRESS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—HIS PROMISE TO UPHOLD THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH SATISFACTORY TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—SECRET INTERVIEW OF THE KING WITH BARILLON, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.—LIBERAL OFFERS OF LOUIS XIV.—JAMES'S OBSEQUIOUS CONDUCT.—PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.—AFFECTS TO DESIRE TO BE ON TERMS OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—RENEWED DECLARATION OF THE KING TO UPHOLD THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.—HIS SPECIOUS PRETEXT IN FAVOUR OF THEIR GRANTING HIM HIS REVENUE FOR LIFE.—READY ACQUIESCENCE OF THE TWO HOUSES.

WITHIN a few hours after the death of Charles, the Duke of York was proclaimed King, in London, by the title of James II., who, immediately after, having assembled the privy council, addressed them in the following terms:—“ Before I enter upon any other business, I think fit to say something to you. Since it hath pleased Almighty God to place me in this situation, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious a king, as well as so very kind a brother, I think it fit to declare to you that I will endeavour to follow his example, and most especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people. I have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power; but that is not the only story that has been made of me; and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government,

both in church and state, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know, too, that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as I can wish; and, as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defence of this nation; and I shall go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties."

The above speech was received with great applause. The King desired that it might be printed, and dispersed among the people. The sentiments it contained afforded universal satisfaction; nor did his appearing publicly at mass, two days afterwards, give rise to any unfavourable impressions. No one had been ignorant of his having, during the reign of his brother, resigned the office of Lord High Admiral in consequence of being a professed Catholic; and his conduct on the present occasion was cited as a proof of his being averse to all dissimulation. On the 14th of February, the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the Duke of Queensbury, Lord High Treasurer, caused the new King to be proclaimed in Edinburgh, with due solemnity; and on the 16th he was proclaimed with equal pomp in Ireland, the Duke of Ormond

having received orders to that effect from the privy council at Whitehall.

The King next proceeded to the choice of the different officers of state, retaining the greater part of those persons who had been employed by his brother: among the chief were Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, appointed Lord Treasurer; the Marquis of Halifax, President of the Council; and Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State.

Embassies, both of condolence and congratulation, speedily arrived from the different European courts, but none was more splendid than that which came from the States of Holland, or more distinguished in its reception by the British court; a pretty clear proof that, at that time at least, none but the most cordial and friendly feeling was entertained towards the new sovereign both by the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland. It is here unnecessary to describe the ceremony of the royal coronation, which took place on the 25th of April: it will be sufficient to state, that it was performed with all due honour, the public appearing to repose in the anticipation of a propitious reign; yet, in the midst of these apparently flattering prospects to his people, James was secretly paving the way to the attainment of arbitrary power. He had a confidential interview with Barillon, the French ambassador, to whom he explained his motive for calling a parliament, as well as his resolution to

levy by authority the revenue which his predecessor had enjoyed in virtue of a grant which ended with his life; made many professions of his attachment to Louis, declared his intention of consulting him about all matters of importance, and apologised, upon the ground of the urgency of the case, for acting in the present instance without his advice. Money was not directly mentioned; but, lest any doubt should exist upon that point, Lord Rochester was directed to explain matters more fully: the consequence was, that a sum to the amount of 500,000 livres was sent over by Louis for the use of the King of England, and received on his part with the most abject expressions of gratitude. Barillon appears to account for the unfeigned satisfaction which the above circumstance afforded by its proving that the alarm entertained respecting the French King no longer intending to interfere in English affairs was groundless. Had such been the case, great difficulty must have existed in the way of assimilating the government of England to that of France. However Louis might have felt warranted in conducting himself towards Charles, the case was now reversed. Charles, he well knew, would probably never call a parliament, and, if he did, would not be able to attain his ends, or be trusted in any way by that body; therefore he could look upon him as one completely dependent: but, in the event of the new King being well used by the parliament, and neglected by France, Louis had suf-

ficient foresight to perceive that, instead of a useful ally, he might find on the throne of England a formidable enemy. It was therefore an object of no small moment to bind the new monarch over to his interests; and this the active sagacity of the French ministry lost no time in effecting.

It had some time been the favourite object of Louis to annex what remained of the Spanish Netherlands to his dominions. This object Charles had bound himself by treaty with Spain to oppose. The very first consequence of the liberality of the French King, was an agreement that Charles's treaty with Spain had ended with his life. This preliminary having been adjusted, James became at liberty to acquiesce in or second whatever might be the ambitious projects of the court of Versailles. It was determined to send over to Paris, in order to obtain further pecuniary aids, Lord Churchill, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough; but such was the impression made by the generosity of Louis, that every thing was finally remitted to him, and to the information his ministers might give him concerning the exigency of affairs in England: in short, he was to be thanked for past, rather than importuned for future, acts of munificence.

The other principal parties in this nefarious business were Lords Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin, — men whose abilities and principles formed them for better things, but who seem to have been corrupted by the pernicious schemes in

which they were engaged. It is impossible without pain to see such men as Godolphin and Churchill involved in a transaction of this kind: with what self-humiliation must they have reflected upon it in subsequent periods of their lives! How little could Barillon have foreseen that he was then negotiating with those who were destined, at a future period, the one in the cabinet, the other in the field, to become the scourge of France, and to shake the fabric of that power which it had, on the part of Louis, been the business of a long life to raise, at the expense of all regard to his own subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations. It is difficult to believe that they are the same persons, now, indeed, appearing in so contemptible a light, who afterwards appeared so great in the war of the succession. A melancholy proof is thus afforded how often the most superior minds and the greatest men may become the mere tools of the circumstances of the time, and how weak is human nature when placed in the way of temptation! Here we behold two of the greatest men in history active agents in a transaction which deservedly might have left on their memory a stain never to be effaced.

One of the first acts of the new reign was a cruel persecution of the Protestant dissenters. Jeffreys, whom the late King had appointed Chief Justice of England, was a man entirely suitable to the purposes of the present government. Titus Oates, the discoverer of the popish plot in the last

reign, being convicted of perjury, suffered a cruel punishment. Thomas Dangerfield, who had confessed to have received money from the Duke of York for the disclosure of the meal-tub plot, and Richard Baxter, a dissenting minister, for certain writings against the Church of England, were each condemned. So great, however, was the confidence of the nation in the honest intentions of the King, that these circumstances caused little or no excitement. To such an extent was public credulity carried, that some affected nicety shown by James with regard to the ceremonies to be used towards the French ambassador was said to be an indication of the different tone to be taken by the present king in regard to foreign powers, and particularly towards the court of Versailles. The King was believed to be eminently jealous of the national honour, and determined to preserve the balance of power in Europe by opposing the ambitious projects of France, at the very moment when he was secretly expressing the most extravagant gratitude for having been accepted as the pensioner of Louis.

Probably, with a view to satisfy those who were praising him for his supposed conduct regarding France, James seems to have desired to be upon apparent good terms, at least, with the Prince of Orange, and declared himself perfectly satisfied with the result of his correspondence with his Highness concerning the protection afforded by him and the States to the Duke of Monmouth,

and other obnoxious persons. He thought it, however, necessary to apologise to the French ambassador for having entered into any sort of terms with his son-in-law, who was supposed to be hostile to the French King; and assured Barillon that a change of system on the part of the Prince of Orange in regard to Louis should be a condition of their reconciliation. He afterwards informed him, that the Prince of Orange had answered him satisfactorily in all other respects, though he had not taken any notice of his wish that he should connect himself with France; but never admitted that he had, notwithstanding the Prince's silence on that material point, expressed himself completely satisfied with him. That James ever really made such a proposition to the Prince of Orange may reasonably be questioned; and as the whole truth was concealed from Barillon in one case, so might it equally have been in another: at any rate, if ever made, there can be little doubt of its rejection on the part of the Prince; still, nothing serves more to show the dependence in which he stood with respect to Louis, than the necessity he felt himself under to explain and apologise for such parts of his conduct as might not be satisfactory to the French monarch. An English parliament, acting upon constitutional principles, and the Prince of Orange, were the two enemies Louis had most cause to dread; and whenever any recourse was had to either of them, an apology was immediately

made to the French ambassador, in which truth and honour were invariably sacrificed.

The parliament met on the 19th of May, when Sir John Trevor, being recommended by Lord Middleton, one of the Secretaries of State, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. On the 22d, the King addressed both Houses in a speech to the following effect:— He began by repeating what he had before declared to the Privy Council respecting his resolution to preserve the government in church and state as by law established; he then alluded to the settlement of his revenue, which he desired should be granted to him for his life; he was aware, he told them, of a popular argument that might be urged against conceding such a request, — the desire for frequent meetings of Parliament, which would be best secured by making grants from time to time; but he met it by observing, that the best means of ensuring his frequently calling them together was to behave towards him with liberality. He then proceeded to inform them that he had that morning received the intelligence of the landing of Argyle in the Western Islands, and that two declarations were published, one in the name of all those in arms there, the other in his own, charging him with usurpation and tyranny: he was resolved to take vigorous measures in order to suppress the rebellion; and he doubted not that this event would render them more zealous to support the

government, and give him his revenue, in the manner he had desired it, without delay.

Tindal, in his "History," remarks, 1. That when the King renewed to his Parliament the promise to preserve the government in church and state, he did so merely for the sake of inducing them to enable him to proceed without them. 2. That by not liking to depend on the supplies his Parliament should grant him from time to time, he plainly intimated his intention of governing in a different manner from his predecessors, since there was no one to be found whose government was not supported by the grants of Parliament. 3. He could only answer the objection he foresaw to his demand by a menace, which ought rather to have induced the Parliament to be on their guard; because it was obvious that, if once enabled to do without calling them together, the execution of his threat would be in his own power.

Echard supposes the Parliament to have been composed of Tories, without any mixture of Republicans, Presbyterians, or Whigs. They were prepossessed in favour of the King; and, believing that, according to his promise, he would never meddle either with the laws or religion, considered it a signal service to the kingdom to enable the King to oppose effectually the measures of the Whigs.

Burnet and Coke assert that the members were for the most part elected by court intrigue, and most violent for the doctrine of passive obedience,

wherefore they surrendered the liberties of the people, and paved the way for the King to become absolute, by granting him such a revenue as enabled him to govern without a Parliament.

It is easy to reconcile these two opposite assertions, by supposing, as we reasonably may, the Parliament to have been deceived by the King's promises. The Whigs accused the Tories of betraying the interests of the country; while the Tories, without denying their having acted erroneously, maintained that they did so, confiding too much in the King's word given from the throne in the most solemn manner. It seems clear, upon the whole, that their intentions were not dishonest, although their want of prudence cannot be easily vindicated.

Be that as it may, both houses, satisfied with the King's speech, waited upon him the same day with an address of thanks; to which he replied, That he was well pleased with the sentiments they expressed, and could repeat no more than what he had said in the morning; and they would find that he would be as good as his word. Such a confirmation was so agreeable to the Commons, that, on their return to the House, they unanimously voted that all the revenue enjoyed by the late King at his death should be granted to his present Majesty, and settled upon him during life. Thus, a revenue amounting to above two millions, which, in the reign of Charles, two Parliaments had spent nearly two years in discussing, was granted to James II.

in two hours. Such liberality was the consequence solely of the King's promise to support the government in church and state ; and, prejudiced as the Parliament then was in favour of the King, they did not pause to consider that, by granting him for life such an immense revenue, he was enabled to maintain an army and fleet without their assistance, and consequently keep all those in awe who might dare to oppose his will.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE ADVISES THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH TO WITHDRAW FROM THE HAGUE.—INVASION OF THE KINGDOM BY MONMOUTH AND ARGYLE.—PRINCE OF ORANGE OFFERS TO COMMAND THE KING'S FORCES.—HIS OFFER DECLINED BY JAMES.—BLOODY ASSIZES OF THE WEST.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF MONMOUTH AND ARGYLE.—DUKE OF ORMOND RECALLED FROM IRELAND.—PROTESTANT MILITIA DISARMED.—COLONEL TALBOT, A PAPIST, CREATED EARL OF TYRCONNEL, AND APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF IRELAND.—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—UNSATISFACTORY SPEECH OF THE KING.—ADDRESS OF THE COMMONS.—JAMES'S REPLY.—PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.—TYRCONNEL APPOINTED LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.—SEVERAL POPISH PEERS ADMITTED INTO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—ENDEAVOUR OF THE KING TO OBTAIN A DISPENSING POWER.—APPOINTS A COURT OF COMMISSION FOR ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.—CASE OF DR. SHARP.—SUSPENSION OF DR. COMPTON, BISHOP OF LONDON.—THE KING ENDEAVOURS TO MAKE PROSELYTES AMONG HIS COURTIER.

UPON the accession of James, the Prince of Orange, prudently desiring to avoid appearing to give countenance to those who were hostile to the government of his father-in-law, recommended the Duke of Monmouth, who had found an asylum at the Hague, to remove elsewhere. The Duke followed his advice, and withdrew to Brussels; but considering himself not perfectly safe there, and fearing that the court of Spain might sacrifice him to King James, he repaired privately to Amsterdam, where he had frequent conferences with the Earl of Argyle, who had kept himself concealed

in that city ever since his escape from condemnation in 1681. Argyle had obtained 10,000*l.* from a rich widow, which encouraged him to make a descent into Scotland, where he hoped that his name and credit with the cause he intended to support would procure him numerous friends, and induce all the Presbyterians to enlist under his banner. The Duke of Monmouth was not in so favourable a position. He wanted money, and he had as yet established no correspondence with any of the nobility or gentry who might aid his design; he could only flatter himself that the enmity of the Whigs against James would revive, when they saw any one prepare to head their party. Argyle, however, feeling how advantageous it would be to him that Monmouth should make a descent into England while he pursued the same course in Scotland, succeeded in persuading him to the attempt, though not till after the Duke had long resisted his solicitations.

Upon this promise, Argyle sailed with three small ships, having with him some German officers and soldiers collected in Holland, and proceeded to Scotland, where he arrived on the 5th of May. Monmouth, as soon as he had heard of his arrival, set sail from Amsterdam with three vessels, and landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the 12th of June. Having disembarked his men and warlike stores, he issued a declaration in the name of himself, the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, in arms under his command, purporting that they

had risen in defence of their religion and liberty, and had resolved not to lay down their arms, till they had secured the protestant religion from all danger of being again subverted by popish councils ; repealed all the penal laws against the protestant dissenters ; provided for the due administration of justice, by constituting the judges, not “ *durante bene placito*,” but, according to the ancient tenure, of “ *quamdiu se bene gesserint* ;” the charters restored to cities and corporations, militia acts repealed, and a law enacted against all military standing forces, unless raised and maintained by authority of Parliament. The Duke added, that, as he preferred the welfare of the nation before his own concerns, he was ready to leave the legality of his title to the crown to the determination of a free parliament.

The Prince of Orange no sooner received the news of the Duke's landing in England, than, anxious to remove all suspicion of his having had any concern in the transaction, as well as to maintain his own and the Princess's right to the crown after the death of the King, he not only immediately sent over six regiments of well-disciplined English and Scotch troops, but also despatched Monsieur Bentinck to King James, offering, in case his Majesty so pleased, to come over and take the command of his forces. This offer, however, either owing to some sinister interpretation, or that the King considered he stood in no need of assistance, which at any time he would have

received with an ill grace, was not accepted: the undisputed fact, however, of its having been made, must place the Prince of Orange above every suspicion of conniving, in any way, at the discontents which existed in England: had such been his object, no opportunity would have been better fitted for its promotion; and there can be little doubt that the countenance of his Highness would, at a time when rebellion was bursting forth in the two extremities of his dominions, headed by able and popular leaders, have occasioned great, if not insurmountable, difficulties to the British monarch. His conduct, on the present occasion, will bear the utmost scrutiny; he had both befriended and afforded Monmouth an asylum at the Hague, and when circumstances no longer rendered it prudent to retain him there, he had generously supplied him with the means of going to Brussels, and thence into Hungary, in order to join the campaign in a manner suitable to his rank and station; yet no sooner was he informed of his having actually raised the standard of rebellion in England, than, not content with simply denying him all countenance and support, he volunteered to lead the royal troops against him. James, having declined the offer, cannot, with justice, cast a shadow of doubt on the sincerity of William's professions, but rather induces a belief that James, in the narrowness and selfishness of his disposition, judged of the motives of others only by his own, and had not sufficient generosity

of character to be beholden to the man whom in his heart he detested.

It is not necessary to the subject of the present history to follow Monmouth from the period of his landing at Lyme till the defeat and dispersion of his forces at Sedgemoor. He himself, having escaped from the field of battle, was soon after taken, and conveyed to London, where, after vainly suing for mercy to the King, he was in a few days beheaded. A similar fate attended the career of Argyle in Scotland, and he also paid the penalty of his rashness on the scaffold. Another and a greater hand was destined to bring to pass what they had failed and forfeited their lives in attempting; and, having made a short allusion to their melancholy histories, we must proceed to narrate those transactions in the reign of James more immediately connected with the career of the Prince of Orange.

No sooner was the King delivered, by the executions of Monmouth and Argyle, from his greatest fears, than he gave himself over to the passion of revenge on all who had directly or indirectly aided the cause of the Duke. For this purpose Chief Justice Jefferies was sent with a special commission into the West, to try the late rebels, and Major-General Kirk was ordered to attend him with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. It was impossible to find in the whole kingdom two men more destitute of religion, honour, and humanity, or better calculated to be the agents of a bloody, vindictive, and merciless tyrant. Without enlarg-

ing upon a disgusting tale of horror and cruelty, it may be sufficient to say, that Jefferies condemned 500 persons, out of whom 230 were executed. Jefferies himself gloried in such barbarity, and boasted that he had hanged more men than all the judges of England since William the Conqueror ; and yet he would have carried his cruelty farther, had not many purchased his favour with large sums of money. Kirk showed himself a worthy coadjutor of Jefferies, in the cruelties he practised at Taunton ; and the history of these justly designated bloody assizes of the West can never be referred to without causing a feeling of detestation and disgust against a government that could devise or abet such proceedings.

James had now apparently established his power on a secure basis. The Whigs were humbled ; the Tories triumphant ; and the doctrine of passive obedience was preached openly throughout the kingdom : his two greatest enemies were no more, and, by his exemplary punishment of those who had offended him, he had struck such terror into the whole kingdom, that no one dared even to think of resisting his will. There remained, however, one thing which weighed with him more than all the rest, but which he could not hope to achieve without hazarding all his other advantages : this was, the establishment of popery. The great majority of Protestants, both in England and Scotland, rendered such an attempt peculiarly difficult ; nevertheless his bigotry induced him to undertake

it; and the remainder of his reign was passed on his part in endeavouring to execute this design, and on that of his subjects, in seeking to counteract it.

Many circumstances should have diverted the King from his purpose. First, The papists in England formed but a very small proportion of the population; therefore it was not to be expected that he could compel the majority to do that which was most hateful to their feelings and prejudices. Secondly, He was deceived in supposing that France would lend him the aid necessary to establish an absolute power, in order to introduce a religion detested by the greater part of the kingdom. It was not the interest of Louis XIV. to render the King of England absolute, but only to raise commotions in that kingdom, which, by keeping the nation employed, should facilitate the execution of his ambitious designs. Thirdly, If the example of Edward II. and Richard II. were too remote to be cited, that of the King his father stood in a very different light, and ought to have acted as a solemn warning. Even Charles II., at the point of death, is said to have advised his brother not to think of introducing popery, it being both dangerous and impracticable. Fourthly, Don Pedro Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, at his first audience after the King's accession to the crown, told him, that he saw several priests about him, who would importune him to alter the established religion, but he wished his Majesty not to

hearken to their advice ; for, if he did, he would have reason to repent of it when it was too late. The King, taking ill the ambassador's freedom, asked him, in a passion, whether, in Spain, the King advised with his confessors ? " Yes, sir," replied Don Pedro, " and that is the reason our affairs go on so ill." Fifthly, Pope Innocent XI., in a letter to the King on his coming to the crown, told him, that he was highly pleased with his zeal for the Catholic religion, but was afraid he would carry it too far, and, instead of contributing to his own greatness, and the advancement of religion, he would do both himself and the Catholic church the greatest prejudice, by attempting that which could never succeed. Lastly, It was obvious the King could hope to succeed in his undertaking only by force, and that force lay wholly in his army and fleet, yet it would almost appear preposterous to attempt to enforce the Roman Catholic religion on the country by means of a fleet and army entirely Protestant. James had reason, when too late, to see the full extent of his error.

All the above considerations were ineffectual against the impetuous zeal of the King, backed by the importunities of those who were admitted to his secret councils, and more especially by his Queen, Mary of Modena. He had long contemplated two things, equally difficult, — to set himself above the laws, and to alter the established religion. He might, in consequence of the public credulity, and the yielding spirit of the Parliament, have suc-

ceeded in making himself absolute, could he but have avoided interfering with the religious feelings of his people: but his frantic zeal hurried him into a labyrinth from which extrication was impossible, and his success in suppressing the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth served only to excite him to hasten the execution of his favourite project.

Soon after his accession he recalled the Duke of Ormond, who was not a proper instrument for his purpose, from Ireland. At the same time the Irish Privy Council was dissolved, and a new one appointed, into which were admitted several known Papists. The council being thus modelled, nothing was heard but impeachments against the Protestants for having held correspondence with the Duke of Monmouth or his adherents. The Earl of Granard, one of the Lords Justices, unwilling to be an instrument to such acts of cruelty, desired his dismissal; but the King declined to grant it, assuring him that nothing should be done prejudicial to the Protestant interest. This soon appeared to be mere empty assertion. Immediately after, he resolved to have a standing army of Papists in Ireland, and to disarm the Protestants. He pretended, in his letter to the Lords Justices, that, there being reason to suppose that the rebellion of Monmouth had extended to Ireland, it was no longer safe to have the arms of the militia dispersed abroad, but that they would be in greater readiness for the general defence by being deposited in the several stores of each county. Upon this order the

city of Dublin having brought in their arms, their example was followed by the whole country.

The Protestants being thus disarmed, means were devised to turn the Protestant into a Catholic army; and Colonel Richard Talbot, a violent Papist, was sent over with full power to model the standing forces as he thought fit. This he did most effectually, breaking many officers of note, who had purchased their commissions at considerable cost; and disbanding between 5000 and 6000 soldiers, in order to make room for Roman Catholics. Talbot, on his return to England, was created Earl of Tyrconnel, with the appointment of Lieutenant-General of Ireland; and, finally, was nominated, at a future period, to succeed Lord Clarendon in the lord-lieutenancy.

The King having, by means of his levies, raised a considerable army, and placed many Roman Catholics in offices of trust, thought fit to assemble the Parliament on the 9th of November; and stated in his speech, that, considering the late danger which the kingdom had incurred from so small a number of rebels, no great reliance could be placed on the militia in case of any sudden emergency; therefore, nothing but a well-disciplined standing army could secure the kingdom from any attack, foreign or domestic. As an army could not be regularly maintained without considerable expense, he did not question their readiness to grant him proportionable supplies. "No man," he added, "should take exception

against some officers in the army for not being qualified according to the late tests; and that he must tell them, that, having on several occasions experienced the advantage of their loyalty in time of need and danger, he would neither expose them to disgrace, nor himself to the loss of their services."

This speech equally surprised both Houses of Parliament and the whole kingdom. The English had often ventured their lives in defence of their religion and laws, which they now, notwithstanding the King's solemn promise, saw openly attacked. It was warmly debated, in the House of Lords, whether they should give the King thanks for his speech? Some were decidedly against it: upon which Lord Halifax observed, "They had now more reason than ever to give thanks to his Majesty, since he had dealt so plainly with them, and discovered what he would be at. The Commons having returned to their House, the King's speech was ordered to be read, when a long and profound silence ensued. At last Lord Middleton moved an address of thanks to the King, which, after a second silence, Lord Castleton, more bold than the rest, having decidedly opposed, the debate was adjourned till the 12th.

In the House of Commons the Tories considerably preponderated: their notions of the royal authority differed widely from those of the Whigs: they had advocated, in the last reign, passive obedience and non-resistance, which the church made an arti-

cle of faith. When, however, they introduced this doctrine without any limitation, they did not foresee its consequences; but chiefly desired to stem the torrent of Whig principles, which ran into the opposite extreme. Believing the King to be attached to their party, they did not conceive the demand for a standing army of 15,000 men, in time of peace, prejudicial to their interests, although the parliaments had always been particularly averse to it, as tending to increase the royal power; but the employment of Papists in the army, by the King's sole authority, was as much disliked by the Tory as the Whig interest. It was easy to perceive of what dangerous consequences it might be the forerunner to the Protestant religion in general, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian. And, moreover, the power assumed by the King to exempt Popish officers from taking the test, was directly contrary to the religion and liberties of the kingdom.

When the King's speech was debated on the 12th of November, some members declared a standing army in time of peace to be inconvenient; but when the question was put relative to a supply being granted to the King, it was carried in the affirmative. It is true, that the motion for adding these words, "towards the support of the additional forces," was rejected, that the House might not appear to sanction the augmentation of the regular troops. This was probably done to prevent the people from being alarmed, in case

they saw the Parliament approving of a standing army in the time of peace. The affair, however, of the Popish officers alarmed alike the Whig and Tory party. No one could be insensible to the danger in which the Protestant religion would be placed by the Parliament having agreed to a standing army; they, therefore, clearly perceived it was now requisite to set some bounds to the doctrine of passive obedience. It was strongly urged that the King on his accession, had solemnly promised to preserve the government in church and state, as by law established; that it ought not to be forgotten, that one of the arguments in favour of the Bill of Exclusion was, that they should, on the accession of a Popish successor, have a Popish army; that the Act of Test was already violated, by which act they were told that no Papist could possibly creep into any employment. The difference between the King's last speech and the one formerly made, was as remarkable as it was deeply to be regretted, and evidently a blow was now aimed at the very bulwark of their liberties. The result of the debate was, the appointing a committee to draw up the following address, which was presented to the King on the 17th of November: —

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We, your Majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, the Commons in parliament assembled, do, in the first place, as in duty bound, return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for

your great care and conduct in suppressing the late rebellion, which threatened the overthrow of this government both in church and state, to the extirpation of our religion as by law established, which is most dear unto us, and which your Majesty hath been pleased to give us repeated assurances you will always defend and maintain; which, with all grateful hearts, we shall ever acknowledge. We further crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, that we have, with all duty and readiness, taken into our consideration your Majesty's most gracious speech to us. And as to that part of it relating to the officers in the army, not qualified for their employments according to an act of parliament made in the 25th year of the reign of your royal brother, entitled 'An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants;' we do, out of our bounden duty, humbly represent unto your Majesty, that such officers cannot by law be capable of their employments; and that the incapacities they thus bring upon themselves can no way be taken off but by Act of Parliament: therefore, out of that great reverence and duty we owe unto your Majesty, who has been graciously pleased to take notice of their services to the Crown, we are preparing a Bill to pass both Houses, for your royal assent, to indemnify them from the penalties they have now incurred: and because the continuing them in their employments may be taken to be a dispensing with that law, without an Act of Parliament, the consequences of which are of the

greatest concern to the rights of your Majesty's subjects, and to all the laws made for the security of their religion: We, therefore, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of your Majesty's House of Commons do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would be most graciously pleased to give such directions therein, that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your Majesty's most loyal subjects."

This address having been presented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole House, His Majesty made the following reply: —

" Gentlemen,

" I did not expect such an address from the House of Commons: for, having so lately recommended to your consideration the great advantage a good understanding between us had produced in a very short time, and given you warning of fears and jealousies among ourselves, I had reason to hope, that the reputation God has blessed me with in the world, would have sealed and confirmed a good confidence in you of me, and of all that I say to you. But, however you proceed on your part, I will be steady in all my promises I have made you, and be just in my word in this and all my other speeches."

This obscure kind of answer so surprised the Commons, that when it was read in the House, a

profound silence was maintained for a considerable time. At last it was named by one of the members that a particular day might be appointed to consider the King's answer. This was seconded by Mr. Coke, member for Derby, who added, he hoped they were all true Englishmen, and not to be frightened from their duty by a few hard words. Although this observation was very consistent with the freedom of the House of Commons, the majority considered Mr. Coke an incendiary, who intended to sow discord between the King and the Commons, and voted that he should be sent to the Tower. To make amends, in some measure, for the offence they had given the King, they proceeded towards providing the sum before voted : nor did they stop there ; but even sought to indemnify the Popish officers from the penalties they had incurred. All this proves with what regret the House had in any way swerved from the principle of passive obedience.

On the 20th of November, James, finding it would be very difficult to obtain from the Commons what he desired relative to the Popish officers, prorogued the Parliament, after a session of eleven days, to the 10th of February. The King lost by the prorogation the 700,000*l.* voted to him ; but he did not want it, in consequence of the vast sums already granted. This prorogation was followed by several others ; till at length the dissolution of the Parliament took place, the last that ever assembled in this reign. From all this, it is obvious that

the King considered the affair of the Popish officers in the army as of great moment, since he chose rather to lose 700,000*l.*, than see his pretended right to employ them disputed. The excessive compliance of the Parliament, in enabling the King to have no further occasion for their aid, may justly be considered as the principal cause of the evils that ensued during the remainder of his reign.

The new Earl of Tyrconnel was no sooner returned to Ireland, with the title of Lieutenant-General, than he began to dismiss Protestant officers and soldiers, putting Roman Catholics in their places, without vouchsafing to consult with the Lord Lieutenant. This caused a quarrel between him and Lord Clarendon, who was soon after recalled, and Tyrconnel, through the interest of the Queen and Father Petre the Jesuit, appointed his successor. Several Protestant gentlemen chose to withdraw from the country rather than remain under a governor so justly odious to them; but all this was considered as of little moment, the object being to root out the Protestant religion.

Being disappointed in his expectations with regard to the Parliament on the subject he had most at heart, James hoped to gain his end by causing the judges to declare that he had a power to dispense with the laws. There are always men to be found ready to sacrifice the public good to their private interests; and upon the present occasion such persons were to be met with amongst the clergy. Dr. Cartwright, dean of Ripon, was promoted to the

bishopric of Chester for having stated in a sermon that the King's promises were free donations, and ought not to be too strictly examined or urged; and that they must leave his Majesty to explain his own meaning in them. The judges were sent for one by one into the King's closet, when four of them absolutely refusing to comply with his demand, were immediately displaced, and others more pliable and submissive, one of whom was a Papist, appointed to succeed them. At the same time the King admitted the Earl of Powis, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Bellasis, Lord Dover, and the Earl of Tyrconnel, all zealous Catholics, into the Privy Council: to these were added the new Bishop of Chester, and Dr. Parker, bishop of Oxford, a reputed Papist. Such things clearly evinced the nature of the King's intentions.

Being resolved to exempt from the penal laws all his subjects in general, and consequently the Papists, he undertook to show that a power in the King to dispense with law, was law. Papers were first dispersed throughout the kingdom to prove his pretended right, and prepare the people for his designs; and at last all the judges, except one, gave their opinions in favour of the King. In consequence of this decision, the Papists, with His Majesty's permission, set up every where the free exercise of their religion; the Jesuits erected colleges and seminaries in all the principal towns, and four Popish bishops, publicly consecrated in the King's chapel, were sent down to exercise their functions

in their respective dioceses, under the title of vicars apostolical. In order still further to aid their cause, the King sent a circular letter to the bishops, with an order prohibiting all the inferior clergy from preaching on controverted points of divinity, for fear, as it was pretended, of raising animosities among the people : but on this occasion the clergy of the church of England openly discovered their aversion to Popery, to which their enemies among the dissenters had asserted their attachment, in consequence of their having adhered to certain ceremonies which the early reformers had not thought fit to rescind. Many of the dignified clergy, the most distinguished for their piety and learning, far from prevaricating in the discharge of their duty, preached openly on controverted points, and even made them the leading subjects of their discourses. Among these were to be found Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tension, Wake, Patrick, Sharp, Sherlock,—names to be revered by every sincere disciple of the Protestant and English church. These celebrated and excellent men could not fail to perceive the tendency of this extraordinary inhibition ; and resolved, like faithful soldiers, to stand in the breach in the defence of that religion they were solemnly bound to uphold, in the hour of its greatest peril. It is pleasing to reflect, that all were called in more prosperous days to fulfil those higher stations in the ranks of the church, the duties of which their undaunted courage in the time of need proved them so well qualified to discharge.

The King and his Popish council were extremely offended at this boldness on the part of the clergy; and in order to force them to submission, his Majesty appointed a court of commission for ecclesiastical affairs, composed of various members, among whom were several Catholics. The nomination of Papists to be judges of a Protestant clergy in matters of doctrine and discipline clearly proved that the King would no longer keep any measures. Among the commissioners were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, with two bishops, Crewe of Durham, and Sprat of Rochester: the rest were all laymen, of whom the principal were Jeffreys, Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Rochester and Sunderland, and Lord Chief Justice Herbert. The commission was directed to any three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one, for a very obvious reason. By this commission they had full power to exercise all manner of jurisdiction concerning any matters spiritual or ecclesiastical: they were to call before them all ecclesiastics of any degree or dignity whatsoever, and to punish offenders by suspension, deprivation, or any other censure: they were empowered to examine all statutes of universities, colleges, grammar-schools, and all other ecclesiastical corporations, and to amend and alter them in such a manner as they might deem expedient.

About this time Dr. Sharp vindicated, in a sermon, the church of England, in opposition to the errors of Popery. The King, on being informed

of it, pretended that the preacher's intention was to beget an evil opinion in the minds of his hearers of himself and of his government. A letter was accordingly sent to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, commanding him to suspend Dr. Sharp from preaching in any other church or chapel in his diocese. On receipt of this order the bishop wrote to Lord Sunderland, representing that he was to proceed according to law, and as a judge; and, by the law, no judge could condemn any one before he had knowledge of the cause, and had cited the party. The King and his council resolved to embrace this opportunity of punishing the Bishop of London, who was odious to the court for having moved in the House of Lords the examination of the King's speech; besides, they thought, by such an example, to establish the authority of the new ecclesiastical commission. The bishop was, therefore, cited to appear before the commissioners on the 4th of August, when he was treated by Jeffreys with his accustomed insolence. He appeared again on the 9th and 23d before the court, when he disowned its jurisdiction, alleging, that as a bishop he owned no other judge but his metropolitan. His plea was rejected. At last, after two or three adjournments, he was suspended from the functions and execution of his episcopal office. This affair convinced the world that the court was resolved to silence the protestant ministers: it was also perceived that the King was determined to keep no more bounds,

since, in a time of profound peace, he had formed a camp of 15,000 men upon Hounslow Heath, under the command of the Earl of Feversham. In this camp was a public chapel, where mass was said every day.

The King's promise to the council and parliament to preserve the Protestant religion was entirely forgotten, and there was no one who could venture to remind him of it. Not contented with acting openly in favour of his religion, he privately endeavoured to make proselytes among his courtiers: he succeeded with respect to the Earl of Sunderland, who was willing to give him this further proof of his devotion, but failed in the case of the Earl of Rochester, who, although he consented to be present at a conference held by divines of both religions, seemed in consequence only more firmly attached to the Protestant tenets; whereupon the King, mortified by his firmness, dismissed him from his office of treasurer. The Earl of Clarendon likewise felt the King's displeasure on this same account, being deprived, towards the end of the year, of the privy seal, which was given to Lord Arundel, a Papist.

CHAPTER X.

THE EARL OF CASTLEMAIN SENT ON A SPECIAL EMBASSY TO ROME. — COLDLY RECEIVED BY THE POPE. — THE KING ISSUES A PROCLAMATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, FIRST IN SCOTLAND, THEN IN ENGLAND. — OBSEQUIOUS CONDUCT OF THE SCOTCH COUNCIL. — ADDRESS OF THANKS FROM THE DISSENTING BODIES. — PRUDENT AND PRAISEWORTHY CONDUCT OF THE ESTABLISHED CLERGY. — REFUSAL OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF CAMBRIDGE TO CONFER A DEGREE ON A BENEDICTINE MONK. — HE IS DEPRIVED OF THE MASTERSHIP OF HIS COLLEGE. — CELEBRATED AFFAIR OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD. — EXPULSION OF SEVERAL OF THE FELLOWS — THEIR UNSHAKEN CONSTANCY. — THE KING DISSOLVES THE PARLIAMENT, AND INEFFECTUALLY ENDEAVOURS TO SECURE A NEW ONE TO HIS LIKING. — PUBLIC RECEPTION GIVEN TO A PAPAL NUNCIO AT WINDSOR. — JAMES DESIRES THE OPINION OF THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO BE SOUNDED IN RELATION TO THE REPEAL OF THE TEST AND PENAL LAWS. — THEIR REPLY. — DUPLICITY AND FOLLY OF THE KING. — DECLARES AN ENTIRE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. — COMMANDS THE BISHOPS TO CAUSE IT TO BE READ IN THEIR DIOCESES. — MEETING AT LAMBETH PALACE, AND SUBSEQUENT ADDRESS TO THE KING. — HIS ANGRY REPLY. — THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND SIX BISHOPS COMMITTED TO THE TOWER. — THEIR TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL. — GENERAL SATISFACTION AT THE RESULT AMONG ALL CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE. — BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

AT last the King gave an open and unquestionable proof of his zeal for the Popish religion, by sending the Earl of Castlemain on a special embassy to Rome, to reconcile the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Holy See; from which, for more than a century, they had

fallen off; incurring thereby the charge of heresy. The ambassador was received by the Pope with a coldness which sensibly mortified James. Innocent XI., not suffering himself to be imposed upon by this outward show, considered the embassy, in every sense, as premature, since the conversion of the three kingdoms was very far from being accomplished; and, therefore, he resolved to take no part in a farce, which could only render him ridiculous. The embassy was owing, it is supposed, to the influence of the Jesuits, who wished all Europe to believe that they had converted the three kingdoms: but Innocent was not so fond of the Jesuits as to afford them this satisfaction at the expense of his own honour: besides, being then engaged in a quarrel with France, he was not sorry to mortify Louis in the person of his friend, the King of England. All the favour that could be obtained from the Pope, was a dispensation of the statutes of the Jesuits, in order that Father Petre might enjoy a bishopric: the see of York was said to have been kept vacant for him. At last, Lord Castlemain, unable to endure the many mortifications to which he was exposed, took his departure.

The King, however, not discouraged by the failure of this embassy, pursued his object with equal ardour. So open was the court in its measures, that some of the principal Catholics could not forbear representing, that such acts were more dangerous than advantageous to their religion; but

James was deaf to all advice, excepting what might be agreeable to his temper and zeal.

Being determined to establish liberty of conscience by his own authority, he was persuaded that it would be more easy to obtain the consent of the parliament to a thing already done, than a power to do it; and he thought proper to begin with Scotland, that the example of that kingdom might influence England. For this purpose, he sent orders to the Scotch privy council to publish a proclamation for an entire liberty of conscience; excluding only the field conventiclers from this favour. The council of Scotland thanked the King for his proclamation as for a signal favour. As it consisted of men entirely devoted to the court, this conduct cannot be matter of surprise: the parliament, similarly composed, by its acts had declared, that no man could resist the King's measures under pain of high treason. The council could not imagine this to be the general feeling of the whole nation; but, knowing that no person would have the boldness to contradict it, they could safely aver it to be such.

Delighted with the ready compliance of Scotland, and considering it as a favourable precedent for England, James summoned his council, and declared his intention of publishing there also a similar declaration. He grounded this resolution on his having observed, that the endeavours to establish an uniformity in the four preceding reigns having proved ineffectual, their failure had been very pre-

judicial to the nation : besides, it was, in his opinion, most suitable to the principles of Christianity, that no man should be persecuted for conscience sake ; for he thought conscience could not be forced. This council, like that of the sister kingdom, approved the resolution, and greatly magnified the King's indulgence to his subjects : the declaration was, therefore, published on the 4th of April. It was much the same as that issued in Scotland ; except that the King made no doubt of the concurrence of his two houses of Parliament, when he should think it convenient for them to meet.

Although scarce any one in the kingdom supposed that the King could, for a moment, entertain an idea of favouring the Nonconformists, but rather that his sole aim was to establish Popery on the ruins of Protestantism ; nevertheless, addresses of thanks were tendered from all classes of Dissenters. These sentiments were favourably received by his Majesty, whose object it was, in order to secure his end, to disunite the various sects of Protestants ; but the Church of England, sensible that such was his aim, and knowing that the time was at hand when a union was more than ever necessary for their common safety, wisely forbore replying to some invectives cast upon them by the more violent Dissenters ; and thus prevented that future schism, which might have been productive of irremediable evil. It is also melancholy to relate, that some bishops prevailed with their clergy to send

addresses of thanks to the King; as if a signal favour had been conferred on the Church of England. Of this number were Crew, bishop of Durham; Barlow, of Lincoln; Cartwright, of Chester; Wood, of Lichfield; and Watson, of St. David's. Parker, bishop of Oxford, was not so successful, being able to find only one clergyman in his diocese who would sign such an address. It may easily be imagined, that in case the King had succeeded in his object, these bishops would not have been the last to embrace the Popish faith.

Hitherto, the Papists had not been able to procure any office or preferment in either university, and it was, therefore, thought necessary to introduce Catholics into the colleges. Dr. John Peachill, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, received a letter from the King, commanding him to admit to the degree of Master of Arts Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, without administering any oath whatsoever. The vice-chancellor, having communicated this letter to the congregation of regents and non-regents, refused compliance; stating, through the Duke of Albemarle, chancellor to the University, his reasons for so doing. Being summoned to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commission, he clearly proved, that, according to the statutes made in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., it was not in his power to confer any academical dignity upon a person refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Jeffreys having inquired, Whether he could give an instance of a refusal to the King's commands in

that university? one was cited, which had occurred during the reign of Charles II.: notwithstanding this, he was sentenced to be deprived of the dignity of vice-chancellor, as well as of the mastership of Pembroke Hall.

The next attempt of a similar nature was made against Magdalen College, Oxford. The presidentship having become vacant by the death of Dr. Clark, the fellows, to whom belonged the right of election, appointed the 15th of April for that purpose. But, previous to that day, they received information, that James had granted a particular mandate in favour of Mr. Anthony Farmer, a man of bad character, who had promised to declare himself a Papist. Upon this, they presented a petition to the King, praying him either to leave to them the choice of their president, according to the statutes of the founder, or to recommend a person who might be more serviceable both to his Majesty and the college. The answer received from the Earl of Sunderland was, that the King must be obeyed. The fellows, resolved not to act contrary to the statutes, which enjoined them to elect no one who was not a member of that society or New College, chose, on the day specified, Dr. Hough for their president. Upon the intelligence of this event reaching London, the vice-president and fellows of the college were summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners; and being asked what they had to say in their behalf? they represented, that being bound by oath to the strict observance of the sta-

tutes of the college, it was not in their power to make choice of Mr. Farmer, who, besides not being qualified, lay under the imputation of having changed his religion, and of leading an immoral and irregular life : that the election of Dr. Hough had been confirmed by their visitor, the Bishop of Winchester ; and they hoped the commissioners would not disapprove their choice. This plea availed them little ; the election was declared null, and Dr. Aldworth, vice-president of the college, with Dr. Fairfax, were deprived of their fellowships. The Court hoping that the remainder of the fellows, terrified by this example, would no longer oppose the King's pleasure, a mandate was sent forth, commanding them to make choice of Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford ; but the fellows, finding him not more qualified than Mr. Farmer, still adhered to their original opinion. This so enraged the King, that passing through Oxford, on his way to Bath, he summoned them to attend him at Christchurch, when he commanded them to receive the Bishop of Oxford as their president, assuring them, that otherwise they should feel the weight of his displeasure. His Majesty, being compelled to leave Oxford without having gained his point, named a commission to visit the college, consisting of Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, Sir Robert Wright, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Thomas Jenner, a Baron of the Exchequer. Dr. Hough, the new president, being asked whether he would submit to the judgment of the commissioners ? re-

solutely answered that he would, so far as the same was not contrary to the laws of England and the statutes of the college. Sir Robert Wright observing that the King had dispensed with their statutes, Dr. Hough said, that though it was not his business to settle the bounds of the royal prerogatives, still he was convinced that the fellows, bound by oath to the observance of the college statutes, could neither be absolved from the same, or receive any others. The next day being summoned again, and asked, whether he was ready to acquiesce in the judgment given by the ecclesiastical commissioners, declaring his election null and void? he replied, that never having been summoned before them, either in person or by his attorney, he looked upon their sentence *as null*; and offered to try his title in Westminster Hall. Being asked if he was ready to give up the keys of the president's lodgings to the person whom the King had thought fit to nominate? he replied, that as no one else could be president while he was alive, he could neither part with the statute book, or the keys committed to his charge. So that, finding him deaf to all their propositions, they sentenced him to be removed for ever from the presidentship. The fellows were then asked, whether they would be present at the inauguration of the Bishop of Oxford? They all, with the exception of Mr. Charnock, refused; upon which the doors of the president's lodgings were forced open, and the bishop put in possession. The fellows being again asked, whether

they would crave the King's mercy for their past offence, and acknowledge the bishop for their president? unanimously answered in the negative. Upon this, the commissioners returned to London, but soon after came again to Oxford, with the draft of a letter of recantation; wherein the fellows were to entreat pardon for their past obstinacy, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the commissioners, and the King's choice of the Bishop of Oxford. Mr. Thomas Smith and Mr. Charnock being the only two willing to subscribe their names to this letter, the commissioners proceeded to pass sentence of expulsion against no less than twenty-six of the body: this was confirmed by the Lord Chancellor, with an addition, that neither the expelled fellows, or Dr. Hough, their president, should be capable of enjoying any ecclesiastical preferment; and that such of them as were not already entered into holy orders, should never be admitted into the same.

After the parliament was dissolved, the King's chief object was to have a new one entirely at his devotion: for this purpose, *quo warranto* writs were issued against several corporations, to the end that, when they were deprived of their charters, the King might grant such new ones as should secure the elections in the way he desired. It would be unnecessary as well as tedious to relate the various methods adopted by James, in order to procure a favourable parliament. With this view he made a progress through several counties, but he every

where experienced such aversion towards his plan, that he could not venture to call one. The people were convinced that the King's design, however much he might disguise it, was, in reality, to deprive them of their liberties, and to change the established religion ; and they would not be the instruments of their own ruin. The affair of Magdalen College greatly contributed to open the eyes of the most blind, and to exasperate the nation. He wanted a parliament which should consent to the abrogation of the penal law and tests, or grant him a power of dispensing with them, at a time when his whole conduct discovered a settled design of establishing the Popish on the ruin of the Protestant religion.

His Majesty, at last, seemed resolved entirely to throw off the mask, by giving a public reception to a nuncio from the Pope. Innocent had nominated to that employment Ferdinando Dadda domestic prelate to his Holiness ; who had been about the King's person ever since his accession, and was a great favourite with the Queen. To give greater lustre to his office, he was first consecrated Archbishop of Amasia in the royal chapel ; after which, on the 3d July, he made his public entry at Windsor with great pomp and magnificence. It was a strange sight to protestants to behold a nuncio from the Pope in his pontificalibus, preceded by a cross-bearer, and a train of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders. Meanwhile, on this very occasion, the King received an unexpected

mortification ; for having ordered Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, to attend the nuncio to his audience, he desired his Majesty to excuse him from an office which the laws of the land made criminal. This so incensed James, that he removed him from his place of gentleman of the bedchamber, and colonel of the dragoons. Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, being less scrupulous, accepted the office Somerset had declined. Some have believed that Dadda was the principal counsellor in the affairs of religion ; but it is not likely he would act so contrary to the sentiments of the Pope, who by no means approved the King's conduct. The same thing cannot be said of father Petre, his Majesty's confessor, who was the first mover of all the engines to advance the progress of popery. He was publicly received into the council on the 11th of November, contrary to the opinion of the most eminent Papists ; who justly feared the King's affairs would thereby be very much prejudiced.

The King's first object being to repeal the test and penal laws, he was most desirous to obtain the consent of the Prince and Princess of Orange, thinking it would tend much towards inducing the parliament to accede to the same thing. Resolving, therefore, to sound their inclinations without appearing in it, he employed Mr. James Stewart, a Scotch lawyer, to write to the Pensionary Fagel, and endeavour to persuade him that it was the interest of England, and of the Prince and Princess of Orange, that the test should be abrogated, and the laws against the

Catholics repealed. This letter coming only from a private individual, the Prince would not allow Fagel to return any answer, which compelled Mr. Stewart to inform the Pensionary that his first letter was written by the King's direction, who desired to have the opinion of the Prince and Princess upon the affair: this, joined to the false report propagated in London, that their Highnesses had given their consent to the abrogation of the test and penal laws, compelled Fagel to let Mr. Stewart know the sentiments of the Prince and Princess of Orange. He said it was their opinion, that no Christian ought to be punished for his opinions, or ill-used because he differed from the established religion; and, therefore, they could consent that the Roman Catholics should enjoy a full liberty of conscience. That as to the Nonconformists, their Highnesses did not only consent, but heartily approved of their having an entire liberty for the exercise of their religion, without any trouble, hindrance, or molestation on that score. But their *High Mightinesses* could not, by any means, agree to the repeal of the test, and those other penal laws, tending to the security of the Protestant religion; since the Roman Catholics received no other prejudice from these, than their being excluded from parliament and public employments; and that, by them the Protestant religion was sheltered from all the designs of the Papists against it, or against the public safety.

This reply was supported by arguments so clear

and solid, that Mr. Stewart, finding himself unequal to cope with such an adversary, thought it most advisable to deny ever having had any correspondence on this subject with Fagel, in order to weaken the influence of his answer, which had been printed and dispersed all over Europe. The Pensionary, provoked at this proceeding, sent a letter to the Marquis of Albeville, the English ambassador at the Hague, calling him to witness as to the correct representation he had given of the sentiments expressed by the Prince and Princess of Orange; and complaining that the Earl of Sunderland had allowed a pamphlet to be published, asserting, that his answer to Mr. Stewart was not authentic, although both himself and the King had seen the original. This letter was also printed, and generally circulated. All these circumstances could not fail to be extremely injurious to the cause of the King; while, at the same time, they served to encourage confident hopes that the Prince and Princess of Orange would not abandon the nation in its necessity.

The more we reflect upon the course pursued by James in this instance, the more necessarily are we bound to conclude, either that no judgment or discretion was evinced in any of his actions; or else, that sensible of the desperate nature of his undertaking, and the little prospect he could have of success, like a drowning man he was eager to catch at a straw. The smallest reflection ought to have convinced him that the Prince of Orange must, of

necessity, refuse acceding to such a request. Admitting William to have been alive to no feelings save those of interest and ambition, he could not pursue a course more likely, both in England and Holland, to overthrow his brightest prospects, than by signifying his consent to the repeal of the test and penal laws. To the Protestant cause he was irretrievably bound, and by a strict adherence to its interests could he alone expect, not only at a future period to ascend the throne of England, but even to maintain his influence with the States. What reasonable hope, then, James could entertain of prevailing in such a quarter, it seems difficult to understand; but, the subsequent attempt to deny the authenticity of what could not but be known to all Europe as having taken place, is at once an exposure of weakness and dissimulation, which can find its apology only in the extraordinary infatuation, the frantic and ill-directed zeal, which, fortunately for the welfare of England, and the security of the Protestant Church, appears, throughout, to have pervaded the councils of James the Second.

The refusal of the Prince and Princess of Orange to consent to the abrogation of the test and penal laws, served only to inflame the King's zeal. He sent emissaries into the several counties to endeavour to secure favourable elections, before he would venture to call a parliament: but the more solicitous he was to gain this point, the less inclined did he find the people, at so important a crisis, to trust their interests in the hands of persons devoted

to the Court. His Majesty, therefore, perceiving that he should at last be reduced to use force, issued commissions for raising new troops, which were almost entirely given to Irish and popish officers : moreover, being highly dissatisfied with the answer of the Prince and Princess of Orange, he wrote to the States General, demanding the six English and Scotch regiments in their service. The States replied, that they could find no agreement which could oblige them to accede to his Majesty's demands, except in the case of his being at war with some of his neighbours, or having to quell an insurrection at home : they had, accordingly, sent the six regiments into England in the year 1685, at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's invasion ; but now, the King being at peace with his neighbours, and free from disturbance at home, they saw no reason that could oblige them to send back those troops. James, not satisfied with this answer, renewed his demands ; but the States insisted that the King was not, at present, in either of those situations which could authorise his exacting them. At last, his Majesty issued a proclamation, calling home all his subjects who were in the service of the States General ; upon which, the Prince of Orange offered passes to all who were willing to return, which about forty of the number accepted.

Although, during the last year, James had published a declaration for an entire liberty of conscience, and, in virtue of it, had filled almost all the

offices with Catholics, he thought fit to publish a second upon the same subject, on the 27th April, this year; it was as follows:—

JAMES REX.

Our conduct has been such in all time, as ought to have persuaded the world, that we are firm and constant to our resolutions: Yet, that easy people may not be abused by the crafty malice of wicked men, we think fit to declare, that our intentions are not changed since the 4th April, 1687, when we issued out our declaration for liberty of conscience, in the following terms: (Here the declaration was recited verbatim.) Ever since we granted this indulgence, we have made it our principal care to see it preserved without distinction; as we are encouraged to do daily by multitudes of addresses, and many other assurances we receive from our subjects of all persuasions, as testimonies of their satisfaction and duty; the effects of which we doubt not but the next Parliament will plainly show; and that it will not be in vain that we have resolved to use our utmost endeavours to establish liberty of conscience on such just and equal foundations, as will render it unalterable, and secure to all people the free exercise of their religion for ever; by which future ages may reap the benefit of what is so undoubtedly for the general good of the whole kingdom. It is such a security we desire, without the burthen and constraint of oaths and test; which have been, unhappily, made by

some governments, but could never support any : nor should men be advanced by such means to offices and employments, which ought to be the reward of services, fidelity, and merit. We must conclude, that not only good Christians join in this, but whoever is concerned for the increase of the wealth and power of the nation. It would, perhaps, prejudice some of our neighbours, who might lose part of those advantages they now enjoy, if liberty of conscience were settled in these kingdoms, which are, above all others, most capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world. In pursuance of this great work, we have been forced to make many changes, both of civil and military officers, throughout our dominions, not thinking any ought to be employed in our service who will not contribute towards establishing the peace and greatness of their country ; which we most earnestly desire, as unbiassed men may see, by the whole conduct of our government, and by the condition of our fleet and of our armies ; which, with good management, shall be constantly the same, and greater, if the safety or the honour of the nation require it. We recommend these considerations to all our subjects, and that they will reflect on their present ease and happiness, how, for above three years that it hath pleased God to permit us to reign over these kingdoms, we have not appeared to be that prince our enemies would have made the world afraid of ; our chief aim having been, not to be the oppressor, but the father of

our people ; of which we can give no better evidence, than by conjuring them to lay aside all private animosities, as well as groundless jealousies ; and to choose such members of parliament as may do their parts to finish what we have begun for the advantage of the monarchy over which Almighty God has placed us ; being resolved to call a parliament that shall meet in November next, at farthest.

Not contented with publishing the above Declaration, the King issued an order to the bishops to cause it to be distributed throughout their several dioceses, and to be read at the usual time of divine service, in all churches and chapels. James was supposed to have had two objects in view by this proceeding : — 1st, To mortify the clergy of the established church ; 2d, To compel the bishops either, in some measure, to make themselves become the instruments of his designs against the Protestant religion, or to incur the penalties of disobedience, in case of a refusal.

Upon the receipt of this order, several bishops assembled at Lambeth Palace, to consult upon the course they were to adopt in such difficult and delicate circumstances : by obedience, they would be approving a violation of the laws, and betraying the interests of the Protestant religion ; by refusing to obey, they would draw upon themselves the penalties which, in all probability, would be inflicted. After debating these several points with the utmost

care and deliberation, to their honour as churchmen and ministers of the Gospel, it must be recorded, the result of their conference was, — that it was better to obey God than man; and as they could not conscientiously obey the King, they ought to oppose themselves to the approaching storm, rather than sacrifice the interest of God and the church. Their resolution was grounded upon four considerations : — 1st, That they would justly be looked upon as cowards, or hypocritical time-servers, in publishing what they knew to be illegal; 2dly, That the electors would look upon such a course as a proof of their consent, and make choice of such representatives as would support, not only the indulgence, but also the dispensing power; 3dly, The public would reasonably conclude, that their publishing inferred their approbation of it; 4thly, That it was preferable to make their stand with their reputation unsullied, and their sacred cause unbetrayed. In pursuance of this resolution, the bishops, seven in number, drew up and signed a petition before they parted, on the 18th of May; when six of them proceeded to Whitehall, to lay it before the King. The prelates, who, on this trying and memorable occasion, proved themselves so well worthy their sacred vocations, were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol. Their petition stated as follows : —

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the suffragan Bishops of that province, now present with him, in behalf of themselves, and other of their absent Brethren, and of the inferior Clergy of their respective dioceses,

Humbly sheweth,

That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, (our Holy Mother, the Church of England, being, both in her principles and in her constant practice, unquestionably loyal; and having, to her great honour, been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty;) nor yet any want of tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation; but, among many other considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath often been declared illegal in Parliament; particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, as well as in the beginning of your Majesty's reign: and it is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your peti-

tioners cannot, in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves party to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of his Divine service, must amount to, in common and reasonable construction. Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

The King, surprised and irritated at this petition, answered in a very angry tone, — "I have heard of this before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the Church of England; especially from some of you. If I change my mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my command shall be obeyed." The bishops replied, "We resign ourselves to the will of God;" and then immediately retired.

The Bishops of Durham, Rochester, Lincoln, and Hereford alone caused the declaration to be read in their dioceses: it generally, however, happened, that in most places the congregation on its being read left the church. One minister, before he began to read it, told his flock, that though he could not refuse the order sent him to read the Declaration, yet he knew of no order which obliged them to hear it. In London it was only read in four or five churches.

The ecclesiastical commissioners judging the case of the bishops to be too delicate a matter for their interference, it was resolved to bring them to a trial before the Court of King's Bench. That the Catholic party were resolved to proceed to extremities rather than give up their design, and that they considered the King merely as an instrument in their hands, is pretty clearly established by the advice they now gave him. That Providence appeared to have blinded this prince to the ruin that was evidently to befall him, has been appropriately observed by a celebrated historian; but it does seem remarkable, that the most zealous of his Popish advisers should not have paused, ere they could venture to recommend a measure, the violent nature of which could not fail to add to the general alarm and dissatisfaction the case of Magdalen College had already occasioned. They could not have contemplated, without dread, a decided show of resistance on the part of the people: they could not have expected a Protestant army to be made the means of forcing a religion on the nation, of which the tenets, both by Churchmen and Presbyterians, were utterly detested; and they must have foreseen that, whatever might be the event to the bishops themselves of the trial which they were about to undergo, so tyrannical a step could not fail to unite all sects and parties to such an extent, as to endanger the stability of the government. It is one, among many instances recorded in history, of the influence of religious bigotry over every

other feeling of the human mind ; and how completely, by this single prejudice, are too frequently swayed the actions of men whose judgments, abilities, and experience of the world, ought to have instructed them to pursue a more prudent course.

The bishops, on their appearance before the Privy Council, being asked, whether they owned the petition, astonished at such a question, at first forbore to give a direct answer : the Archbishop at length confessed himself to be the author of it, and that it had been subscribed by the others. The Chancellor, after endeavouring to make them sensible that their disobedience tended to diminish the King's authority, and disturb the peace of the kingdom, inquired, whether they would enter into recognizances to appear before the Court of King's Bench to answer such a misdemeanor ? This they all refused, insisting on the privilege of their peerage. The Chancellor then threatened to commit them to the Tower, unless they immediately withdrew the petition. In a spirit worthy the days of Hooper and Ridley, they declared their readiness to go wherever his Majesty might be pleased to send them, putting their trust in the King of kings, and fearing not what men could do against them : having acted according to law, and the dictates of their own consciences, no earthly punishment should ever be able to shake their resolutions. A warrant was immediately signed for their committal to the Tower, for contriving, making, and publishing a seditious libel against his Majesty and

the Government. They were conveyed thither by water, it being feared that their passing through the streets might occasion a tumult : nevertheless, the people crowded to the river side, loudly extolling their constancy. Such a display of feeling might have proved to the King that he stood on the very brink of a precipice ; but he had blindly embarked on a design from which neither the voice of prudence nor the warning of impending danger could recall him.

Two days after the committal of the bishops to the Tower, the Queen gave birth to a son, who, during the life of his father, was styled Prince of Wales, and afterwards known by the name of James the Pretender : his birth was a subject of great triumph to the Papists, and of dismay to the Protestant party. That strong suspicions were at the time entertained, that the child was supposititious, is well known. It is not our province to inquire into their merits or justice ; but it may be well to observe, that very strong proofs ought to be required, before any thing like credit should be given to an assertion of this kind. Allowances must also be made for the inveteracy of feeling which parties entertained towards each other at that period ; and without more satisfactory evidence than prejudiced historians have handed down to us, we are scarcely justified in adding to the accumulated weight of error, which this most weak and bigotted monarch has incurred, the additional charge of

having imposed a deception of this nature on his people.

On the 15th June, the bishops were brought to their trials in the Court of King's Bench; but upon their motion for a delay, it was put off to the 29th; and, in the mean time, they were set at liberty upon their own recognizances. On the day appointed, Westminster Hall was crowded with spectators. The judges were, Chief Justice Wright, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir John Powell, and Sir Richard Allibone. Among the counsel for the bishops was Mr. Somers, who, upon this occasion, gave those proofs of knowledge and ability, which afterwards, in the reign of William III., obtained for him the great seal of England. He argued, that it was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the King, which if questioned, he might at any time be sacrificed to the malice and ambition of persons in power; that the bishops had done nothing but what was consistent with their duty; it being not only the unquestionable right of the peers to acquaint the King with what was illegally transacted, but in a more peculiar manner did it belong to the bishops, according to the statutes of Elizabeth, revived under the reign of Charles II., to see the immunities of the Church preserved; when the King thought fit to enjoin them to perform an act which tended to their overthrow, they had no other means left, but, in the shape of a petition, to state their reasons for not complying with his Majesty's commands; and concluded by observing, that it

was impossible to brand a legal petition with the odious name of a seditious libel. The King's counsel having alleged that the bishops had put an affront on the King's person, by questioning his dispensing power; it was answered, that the kings of England never were invested with such a power; and that, whenever they had assumed it, they had always experienced vigorous opposition from the Parliament. Both the judges, Holloway and Powell, gave it as their opinion, that subjects had a right to petition the King, and that a dispensing power was not among the royal prerogatives. This declaration occasioned their being soon after removed from the Bench.

The jury having withdrawn, remained in consultation during the whole night, and on the following morning, before a very crowded hall, pronounced the bishops Not Guilty. The news of their acquittal occasioned the most lively demonstrations of joy, not only in London, but throughout the whole country; and the King, while dining in Lord Feversham's tent on Hounslow Heath, had the mortification to hear the shouts of the soldiers, on the event being made known to them.

CHAPTER XI.

THE KING FINDS THE ARMY AND FLEET OPPOSED TO HIS VIEWS.— UNION OF THE WHIGS AND TORIES.— SECRET COMMUNICATION WITH THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.— THE STATES EAGERLY ASSIST HIS UNDERTAKING.— SECRET BUT ACTIVE PREPARATIONS.— THEIR REAL OBJECT SUSPECTED BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.— LOUIS XIV. WARNS THE KING OF HIS DANGER, AND MAKES OFFERS OF ASSISTANCE.— DECLINED, WITH THE ADVICE OF SUNDERLAND.— SINGULAR APATHY AND INCREDULITY OF JAMES.— SUNDERLAND SUSPECTED OF TREACHERY.— JAMES'S OBSCURE AND DUBIOUS DECLARATION RELATIVE TO THE CALLING A PARLIAMENT.— THE PRINCE OF ORANGE'S DESIGN AVOWED BY THE STATES.— ALARM OF THE KING AND HIS COUNCIL.— JAMES SOLICITS THE ADVICE OF THE BISHOPS.— ISSUES A PROCLAMATION.— MAKES, WITH THE ADVICE OF THE BISHOPS, SEVERAL CONCESSIONS.— RESTORES THE EXPELLED FELLOWS OF MAGDALEN.— HIS VACILLATING AND INSINCERE COURSE OF CONDUCT.— BAPTISM OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.— HIS LEGITIMACY QUESTIONED.— DISMISSAL OF THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.— THE KING'S ADHERENTS SECURE THEMSELVES BY OBTAINING LETTERS OF PARDON.

THE King, being determined to try how far he could depend on the obedience of the army, commenced with each regiment singly; not doubting that, in the event of two or three submitting, the rest would follow their example. The major of Lord Lichfield's regiment was therefore commanded to tell the soldiers, that such as were unwilling to contribute to the repeal of the test and penal laws should lay down their arms; upon which all, with the exception of two captains and a few Popish soldiers, adopted that course. The fleet was no better disposed than the army to further the King's object. Vice-Ad-

miral Strickland having ordered mass to be said on board his ship, there arose such a mutiny among the sailors, that the officers could with great difficulty save the priest from being thrown overboard.

All persons who had any regard for their religion, or for the welfare of the country, clearly perceived the dangerous condition of both. The King evidently no longer pretended to govern by the laws of the land, but according to his will and pleasure; and it was manifest that nothing short of the overthrow of the Protestant Church was his ultimate design. The clergy and high Tory party had considered it advantageous to enlarge his prerogative, in order to prevent attempts which had occasioned so much mischief in the reign of Charles I.: the sole object was, to keep in restraint the Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, whose republican principles proceeded to such a fearful length. They could not foresee that the time might come, when the King would make use of such a power against the Church of England. The clergy now saw that they had been labouring for their own destruction, in openly preaching the doctrine of passive obedience without any restriction; and the present danger convinced them, that unless the royal prerogative was restricted, Church and State would be alike annihilated. They chose, therefore, rather to retract, than to increase the existing danger, by continuing to maintain a doctrine which must justly be looked upon as the chief cause of the

present calamities. The first and most necessary step was, to come to a right understanding with the Nonconformists. The churchmen acknowledged they had carried passive obedience too far; the Presbyterians, who had hitherto unjustly accused the Church of England of leaning to Popery, could not forbear acknowledging their error after the firmness evinced by the seven bishops. These dispositions being well managed by prudent men of both parties, produced at last an uniformity of sentiment, with regard to the main point in question, namely, That it was absolutely necessary to think of means for the preservation of religion and the State from impending danger. In a word, without the King's knowledge, Whigs and Tories were for the time reconciled; and resolved to labour jointly for the salvation of their country. This union of the two parties was the most fatal blow that could be given to his affairs; since he relied chiefly upon their division for carrying his point.

The union between the Whigs and Tories being effected, several distinguished persons, both amongst the clergy and laity, began to form a scheme for the execution of a grand design to preserve the Church and State. They saw no expedient more proper than to place the Prince of Orange at the head of the party opposed to the Court: they did not doubt his Highness would do his utmost, both to preserve the established religion, and endeavour to secure the succession to the Princess his wife, whose right had been set

aside by the birth of a Prince many supposed to be supposititious. Powerful as such motives must be to the Prince of Orange, there still remained another, which could not fail to have its due weight ; — the extreme danger to which Holland would be exposed in case of James succeeding in his design, by the close union that would consequently subsist between England and France. It was with this view that several persons repaired to the Hague, on various pretences, in order to confer with his Highness. Among those who remained there in a kind of refuge, were Colonel Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney, Sir Robert Peryton, Sir Rowland Green, and the celebrated Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. In July, 1688, one Joseph Flight brought over several letters into England, and carried back answers to the Hague. Affairs being thus commenced, Lord Wharton pretending a journey to Germany, passed through Holland : Lord Dumblain, son of the Earl of Danby, who commanded an independent frigate, crossed and recrossed the seas with various despatches and resolutions. The Earl of Shrewsbury went over to the Prince, offering him both his purse and his sword : he was speedily followed by Admiral Herbert, Mr. Russell, Lord Morton, and the Earl of Wiltshire. The principal persons with whom they held correspondence in England, were the Earls of Danby, Devonshire, and Dorset ; the Lords Lovelace and Delamere ; the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquesses of Halifax and Winchester, Lord Wil-

loughby, son of the Earl of Lindsey, Mr. Lester, Mr. Hampden ; besides several eminent citizens of London.

The Popish party will, doubtless, look upon this union as little else than a league to excite rebellion against the King : the only point for us to discuss is, whether it was contrary to law, conscience, and that duty which subjects owe their sovereign ? The government of England must be distinguished from that of other states ; and all that may be asserted respecting the rights of sovereignty in general, cannot be made applicable to a King of England. The main question is, whether James II. had violated the constitution in its most essential parts ? whether he was not using every means in order to overthrow the Protestant religion, which he had solemnly promised his council and the Parliament to maintain ? and, whether the danger of its extinction was not imminent ? These queries being answered, as they clearly must, in the affirmation ; the next point to be considered is, whether the people of England were obliged to submit without opposition ? If the doctrine of passive obedience could be maintained in the present case, no difference would exist, except in name, between a constitutional and a despotic monarchy ; and a Parliament would only have to enact laws, which the King at his own will and pleasure might break through and annul. However far the advocates of unlimited obedience to the will of the sovereign may carry their ideas, it was fortunate for the wel-

fare of England that the clergy saw in time their former error in this respect; and that the larger portion of the laity were of an opposite opinion to that urged by the Papists and the Court party.

The Prince of Orange being fully determined to head the party, it was resolved that the English lords at the Hague should demand the assistance of the States: many arguments were not needed in order to obtain a favourable reply. The States were deeply concerned in the present position of affairs in England; they foresaw the danger that would accrue to Holland by the close union of Louis and James, in the event of the latter succeeding in his designs. The sole difficulty lay in making preparations, concealing their object, and raising forces to replace those which the Prince should lead into England, in order to secure them against any sudden attack on the part of France. The difference at that time existing about the election of an archbishop of Cologne, between Prince Clement of Bavaria, and the Cardinal of Furstenburg, furnished the States with a pretence to assemble an army near Nimeguen: on the other hand, the Prince of Orange caused the direction of affairs to be committed to the management of three or four members of the State, in order to prevent the real facts of the case coming to the knowledge of the emissaries of Count d'Avaux, the French ambassador. The commissioners, under colour of the Cologne affair, gave orders for levying an army and preparing a fleet; while the Prince — on pre-

tence of providing for a war against France, which seemed to be near at hand, — had an interview at Minden, in Westphalia, with the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Princes of the House of Lunenburgh, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and secured their assistance, in case France should attack Holland or the Low Countries, while he was engaged in the English expedition. All these matters were so secretly transacted, that the ambassadors of France and England could get no certain intelligence of what was going forward. The Prince having secured to the States, in case of need, the assistance above alluded to, concerted his plans with so much prudence that they were actually put in practice before they became known. It was arranged that the States, under colour of supporting the election of the Prince of Bavaria, should form a camp near Nimeguen, a place too remote from the sea to cause any suspicion that they were designed to be embarked; that a fleet of fifty men of war, with a certain number of transports, should be prepared, to convey about 13,000 men. In order to prevent alarm, the merchants of Amsterdam and other places should freight as many ships as they could on various pretences: these ships should repair to several ports at a time appointed, to take the men on board the fleet; and on the Prince's landing in England the English noblemen, by whom he was invited, should disperse themselves over the kingdom to levy troops and excite insurrections; while he, with his small army,

was to make head against the King's forces. No doubt seemed to exist that the people in England would eagerly second the efforts of those who had come over to their deliverance.

Although the whole scheme was sufficiently well planned and executed, so as to prevent the French and English ambassadors from being able to learn any thing certain, still it was almost impossible that 50 men of war and 500 transports could be prepared, without their obtaining some intelligence by means of spies; and they accordingly conjectured that something was secretly contriving against England. Count d'Avaux failed not to communicate this opinion to his court, which was immediately transmitted to England: moreover, James's envoy at the Hague had previously informed him of an intercepted letter, which intimated that a great project was carrying on against him; but the King, in fancied security, neglected the advice, looking upon it as an artifice to divert him from his designs. It is also said that Monsieur Bude de Virace, a protestant of Geneva, having been dismissed from his situation of gentleman usher to the Princess of Orange, wrote, on his return to his own country, to Mr. Skelton, James's ambassador at Paris, stating that he had things to communicate to the King, in which the safety of his crown was involved, but would only do so to his Majesty in person; and added that he was ready to repair to London the moment James would let him know his pleasure. Skelton did not fail to give repeated information of

this offer to the British Court, but no notice was taken of it; either in consequence of the blind security of the King, or because the Earl of Sunderland, to whom it was addressed, did not think proper to communicate it to him.

Meanwhile, the King receiving repeated assurances of what was to be expected from Holland, judged it expedient, at all events, to gratify the people with the expectation of a parliament. On the 24th of August he declared in council his intention of calling it for the 27th of November; and the Chancellor had orders to issue out the writs on the 5th of September: these, however, never being sent forth, it was supposed his Majesty intended only to amuse the public. On the 25th of August Monsieur Bonrepos arrived in London from Paris, and had several conferences with the King. It is asserted, that having given James full warning of his danger, he offered him on the part of the King of France a fleet, and an army of 30,000 men. The Earl of Sunderland is said to have prevented the offer being accepted; representing, that it would be very dangerous to introduce a foreign army into England, at the very time he was preparing to hold a parliament; that he would entirely lose the hearts of his subjects, even of those most devoted to him; that if the French should have a mind to render themselves masters of the kingdom, he would find but very few who would join to deliver him from such troublesome guests, and that in accepting so powerful an aid, he would quickly

become only a viceroy to Louis XIV. It has been asserted that this advice was evident treachery on the part of Sunderland, who had been gained over by the Prince of Orange ; but there does not appear any substantial ground for the accusation. In the mean time, the Marquis of Albeville, the English ambassador at the Hague, demanding a cause for these extraordinary preparations, the States answered, they armed in imitation of his Britannic Majesty ; and that they might with more reason demand an explanation about the alliance he had lately entered into. Notwithstanding this unsatisfactory reply, James would not believe that the Prince of Orange could venture to attack him : he still relied on his fleet and army, in spite of the many proofs of disaffection they had evinced. Although Louis himself was in the first instance deceived by the encampment at Nimeguen, and had even ordered Count d'Avaux to declare his intention of supporting the claims of the Cardinal of Furstenburg to the archbishopric of Cologne, still he had long since been aware of the real object of the States, and was at a loss to understand the extraordinary indolence and apathy evinced by James. Skelton, no less puzzled to answer the often repeated question, why his master declined the assistance of France ? could only observe, that he had received no orders on that subject : at last, in a conference with Monsieur Croissy, he told him it was his private opinion that, if France would threaten to attack the States General in case any

thing was attempted by them against England, it might be the means of stopping the Prince of Orange's measures. The court approving this proposal, Count d'Avaux presented a memorial to the States on the 30th of August, declaring that all circumstances inclining his master to believe that the army in Holland threatened England, he was therefore commanded to tell them, that the ties of friendship and alliance between himself and the King of Great Britain would oblige him not only to assist him, but also to look on the first act of hostility that should be committed by their troops or their fleet against his Majesty of Great Britain, to be a manifest rupture of the peace, and a breach with his crown. The States, after an ambiguous answer to this memorial, demanded the meaning of the new alliance between the two kings. The same demand was repeated to the court in London by their ambassador, Van Citters; upon which the King summoning a council, it was resolved, by the advice of Sunderland, to disown the proceedings of Count d'Avaux. This resolution was immediately communicated to the Dutch ambassador and to all the king's ministers at foreign courts: moreover, to convince the public that the King was not privy to the memorial sent in by d'Avaux, Skelton was recalled and sent to the Tower.

Lord Sunderland here reasoned on the same principles as when the question of receiving assistance from France was debated: his argument appeared sufficiently plausible to satisfy the King.

Many are of opinion that, had the offer of France been accepted in the first instance, the Prince of Orange's undertaking would have entirely failed: it certainly appears more than probable that Sunderland must have been better informed of the real state of affairs than his master; and there was much reason to infer the existence of disaffection, to a very great extent, both in the army and the fleet. On the other hand, the calling in foreign troops to keep in awe a British nation, could never tend to establish a monarch in the affection or good-will of the people; and it is at least possible that Sunderland, looking forward to a very different course of conduct to that which James afterwards adopted, might have placed greater reliance than it merited upon his personal resolution and decision: therefore, when much is to be urged on one side and the other, it is scarcely just to accuse him, merely in consequence of the issue of the event, of having, while the minister of James, had a secret understanding with the Prince of Orange. The most plausible ground against him is his admission to that Prince's councils and confidence when on the throne; but he was not the only adherent of King James who was thus favoured.

Though the King had commanded writs to be issued out for a new parliament, the order had not been executed: this clearly appears in a proclamation of the 21st of September, wherein the King supposed that the elections had not yet commenced.

stated, that, his Majesty having already signified his pleasure to call a parliament, lest those whose right it was to choose members should lie under any prejudice or mistakes, through the artifices of disaffected persons, he thought it fit to declare, that, as it was his royal purpose to endeavour legally to establish an universal liberty of conscience for all his subjects; it was also his resolution inviolably to preserve the Church of England by such a confirmation of the several acts of uniformity, which should be altered only by the repeal of the clause, which inflicted penalties on persons not promoted, or to be promoted, to any ecclesiastical benefices, within the meaning of the said acts, for exercising their religion contrary to the purport of the said acts of uniformity. And for the further securing not only the Church of England, but the Protestant religion, he was willing that Roman Catholics should remain incapable of being members of the House of Commons; whereby those apprehensions would be removed which many persons had had, that the legislative authority would be engrossed by them, and turned against Protestants.

This proclamation was too obscure and ambiguous to produce any effect. There was even a manifest contradiction in the design to repeal the penal laws, and at the same time to preserve the acts of uniformity. Besides, the King spoke only of excluding Papists from the House of Commons, and not from that of the Lords. But what still more plainly discovered the King's intention to

amuse the people, was, that the writs for a new parliament were not issued.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange's designs being no longer matter of doubt, James at length prepared to augment his forces, sending for some regiments out of Ireland, and also to equip the fleet. Barillon proposed that the King his master should abandon the siege of Philipsburg, undertaken by the Dauphin, and carry the war into Holland. This proposal, though approved by several of the council, was opposed by others, on the ground that such a measure would be the means of alienating all the English Protestants from the King. The Earl of Feversham was chosen to command the army, and Lord Dartmouth placed over the fleet. Being fully aware how prejudicial to him was the report of his strict alliance with Louis XIV., he used his utmost endeavours to stifle it. For this purpose he ordered Albeville to assure the States there was no other treaty between him and France, than what was public: he, moreover, requested them to take such measures as might best serve to maintain the peace of Nimeguen and the twenty years' truce concluded in 1684. But the States, whether better informed than the King imagined, or for other reasons, took no notice of this memorial: on the contrary, the Pensionary of Holland frankly owned to the Marquis of Albeville, that the Prince of Orange, having been invited by the English nobility, was preparing to carry them assistance in order to restore the government to its ancient state, James

having entirely changed it since his accession to the crown.

The King who had hitherto preserved hopes, either that the States had some other design, or that the Prince intended merely to divert him from his object, on receipt of this intelligence discovered, in common with his whole council, the utmost consternation. It was clear the Prince had projected this undertaking upon private assurances of support from England. The King saw the great disproportion of the Papists to the Protestants; and, consequently, could rest little hope on their support. In this melancholy position, he believed his best chance of refuge was to recover the Church of England to his interests. Reckoning that body to be unshaken in their principle of passive obedience, he hoped, by giving them some satisfaction, to secure their allegiance, and thus have no further cause to fear the efforts of the Prince of Orange. To this end he sent for the bishops who were then in London; namely, Winchester, Chichester, Peterborough, Rochester, Ely, Bath and Wells; telling them, that he desired their advice on the present conjuncture. He assured them of his readiness to do whatever should be thought necessary for the security of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of his subjects, without derogating from his own prerogatives: the affair required mature examination; and he therefore prayed them to consult together, in order to give him their advice. The bishops immediately repaired to Lambeth to

consult with the archbishop, upon the counsel it behoved them to offer to the King.

On the 28th of September, his Majesty informed his subjects by proclamation of his having received undoubted advice that a great and sudden invasion from Holland, with an armed force of foreigners, would speedily be made in an hostile manner upon this kingdom; and although some false pretences relating to liberty, property, and religion, contrived and worded with art and subtlety, might be given out, it was manifest that no less matter by this invasion was intended, than an absolute conquest of these his Majesty's kingdoms, and the utter subduing and subjecting them, and all his people, to a foreign power; which was promoted by some of his subjects, being persons of wicked and restless spirits, implacable malice, and desperate designs; who, having no sense of the misery of former intestine divisions, nor being moved by his Majesty's reiterated acts of grace and mercy, did again endeavour to embroil this kingdom in blood and ruin, to gratify their own ambition and malice; proposing to themselves a prey and booty in such a public confusion. That though his Majesty had notice that a foreign force was preparing against him, yet he had always declined any foreign succours, but rather had chosen to rely on the true and ancient courage, faith, and allegiance of his own people, with whom he had often ventured his life for the honour of this nation, and in whose defence against all enemies he was firmly resolved to live and die;

therefore his Majesty solemnly conjured his subjects to lay aside all animosities, jealousies, and prejudices, heartily and cheerfully uniting together for the defence of their native country. That, albeit the design had been carried on with all imaginable secrecy, and endeavour to surprise and deceive his Majesty, yet he had not been wanting, on his part, to make such provision as did become him, and made no doubt of being found in so good a posture, that his enemies might have cause to repent their rash and unjust attempts. In conclusion, his Majesty declared, that he did intend to have met his parliament in November next, and that the writs were issued forth accordingly; proposing to himself, amongst other things, that he might be able to quiet the minds of all his people in matters of religion, but that, in regard of this strange attempt, designed to divert his said gracious purposes, he found it necessary to recall his fore-said writs, &c.

Although the King pretended an entire reliance on the allegiance of his subjects, he was sensible that he had given them too much cause of discontent to feel assured of their affection. Thinking it it, therefore, necessary to give some proof of his sincerity, he removed the Bishop of London's suspension, and appointed Sir John Chapman, a churchman, to succeed Sir John Eyles, an anabaptist, as Lord Mayor of London; at the same time he restored the city charter and privileges to their ancient condition. On the 3d of October the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, attended by eight bishops, repaired to Whitehall, in order to report to the King the result of their conference; and gave their advice to put the government of the different counties into the hands of persons legally qualified for the same; to annul the ecclesiastical commission; to recall all grants qualifying Papists to teach in public schools; to desist from any pretension to a dispensing power, till the same could be settled by act of parliament; to put an end to the authority exercised by four foreign bishops in England, styling themselves apostolical vicars; to fill the vacant bishoprics, and especially the see of York, with worthy persons; to supersede all further persecutions of *quo warrantos* against the corporations, and to restore to each its ancient privilege, as had recently been done with respect to London; to issue out writs with all convenient speed for calling a free and regular parliament, thereby to secure the Church of England according to the acts of uniformity; to make provision for a due liberty of conscience, and for the protection of the rights and properties of his subjects; above all, that they, the bishops, might be permitted to offer such arguments as should seem most fitting, to prevail on his Majesty to return to the communion of the Church of England, into whose holy catholic faith he had been baptized, in the doctrines of which he had been educated, and to which it was their earnest prayer he might yet be reunited.

This advice being obviously best suited to the

present posture of the King's critical affairs, he resolved at once to follow it. The ecclesiastical commission was dissolved; a proclamation was issued for restoring their charters and privileges to corporations; Popish justices of the peace, recorders, mayors, and deputy lieutenants were removed in the several counties, Protestants being appointed in their place; and the Bishop of Winchester, as visitor, received orders to restore the fellows of Magdalen College.

All these proceedings, however, rather the effect of necessity than inclination, could not restore to the King the confidence of his subjects. The fear of finding himself deserted on the arrival of the Prince of Orange was the only motive assigned for thus destroying his own work. This suspicion was soon discovered to be well founded. Upon the news of the dispersion of the Dutch fleet in a storm, the citation, restoring the expelled fellows of Magdalen College, affixed to its gates by order of the Bishop of Winchester, was removed, and their recall for a time deferred; but no sooner was the report known to be unfounded, than it was carried into effect. This course of conduct could not fail to be extremely prejudicial to the King. Those who had first believed in his sincerity could no longer place any confidence in him; and he found he could only rely on the Popish party, who were too weak to uphold his sinking fortunes. He anxiously applied himself to strengthen his army by reinforcing it with troops on whom he could depend:

2500 men had arrived at Chester from Ireland ; 3000 Scots had reached Carlisle ; and new commissions were granted for raising ten regiments of horse and foot : but all this could not avail against the national feeling, upon which the Prince of Orange relied more than upon the force he brought with him. In London the populace began to attack the Popish chapels ; when the King, fearing an insurrection, ordered them to be closed ; and many Popish priests and Jesuits, perceiving the storm to be gathering, consulted their safety by a timely retreat into foreign lands. While affairs were in this distracted state, the King caused the Prince of Wales to be solemnly baptized ; the Pope, represented by his nuncio, being sponsor, and the queen-dowager godmother. At the same time, in consequence of a memorial published in Holland, and ascribed to Dr. Burnet, accusing the King of forcing his subjects to own a supposititious child for Prince of Wales, it was thought advisable to call an extraordinary council, before which the depositions of the various parties interested or implicated in the affair might be made. It is here unnecessary to enter into their detail ; but it must again be observed, that the justice of this charge has not been verified by such testimony as its serious weight and importance demanded ; and, notwithstanding the different view taken of that particular point by many historians, a reasonable doubt arises whether it would not have been more prudent, on the part of James, to leave the me-

morial published in Holland by persons interested in supporting any assertion, however improbable, that could tend to defame his character, entirely unnoticed. Some may argue that his critical position would not allow of his acting then as he might have done under ordinary circumstances: yet, when extraordinary pains are taken to adduce proof, in cases respecting which no doubt ought ever to have existed, the public, ever ready to give credit to the marvellous, and not unfrequently swayed by feelings of a personal nature, are most disposed to entertain the very suspicions thus anxiously sought to be removed; and the eagerness evinced by the King to establish the identity of the Prince of Wales might not unnaturally be construed into a consciousness of guilt and apprehension of its probable detection. That James was unjustly accused of having thus attempted to delude his people, common justice induces the belief: to condemn upon prejudiced assertion and the dubious evidence of party would not be consistent with historic fairness and impartiality; and nothing beyond that has appeared tending to substantiate the charge.

On the 28th of October, the Earl of Sunderland was suddenly removed from all his employments. Some believe that his neglecting to communicate Skelton's letters to the King was the cause of his disgrace; but it is not improbable that he was looked upon in a suspicious light by the Popish party, who may have persuaded the King of his

being secretly favourable to the Prince of Orange : the real facts of the case, however, are involved in obscurity. About this time the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, Sir Nicholas Buller, and the bishops of Durham and Chester, with some others who had been most devoted to the King during his prosperity, thought proper to secure themselves from the consequences of their illegal transactions by procuring letters of pardon.

CHAPTER XII.

DECLARATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. — HE TAKES A SOLEMN LEAVE OF THE STATES. — EMBARKS, AND IS DRIVEN BACK BY A STORM. — THE BISHOPS SUSPECTED BY JAMES OF FAVOURING HIS DESIGN. — THEY ARE SUMMONED INTO HIS PRESENCE. — THEIR CAUTIOUS AND EVASIVE REPLIES. — SECOND EMBARKATION OF WILLIAM. — HE LANDS AT TORBAY ON THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER. — PROCEEDS ON THE FOLLOWING DAY TO EXETER. — ATTENDS SERVICE AT THE CATHEDRAL. — HIS DECLARATION READ FROM THE PULPIT BY DR. BURNET. — ASSOCIATION OF SEVERAL COUNTRY GENTLEMEN. — WILLIAM'S ADDRESS TO THEM. — HE PROCEEDS TOWARDS SALISBURY. — MARY JOINS HIS STANDARD. — DECLARATION AT NOTTINGHAM. — SEVERAL PEERS AND BISHOPS ADDRESS THE KING, BESECHING HIM TO CALL A PARLIAMENT. — HIS CONDITIONAL REPLY. — JAMES LEAVES LONDON AND ARRIVES AT HIS CAMP ON SALISBURY PLAIN. — ADDRESS OF THE OFFICERS OF HIS ARMY. — DEFECTION OF LORD CHURCHILL. — HIS LETTER TO THE KING. — SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY HISTORY.

WHILE these things were proceeding in England, the Prince of Orange was preparing to embark with the forces he had collected. It cannot be supposed that, with an army not exceeding 14,000 men, he would have ventured upon a descent into England, if he had not been well assured of the strong feeling that existed throughout the country in favour of his design: but, as it was necessary he should remove the idea, encouraged by the King, that his object was to subdue the nation, he thought proper, by the following Declaration, dated the 10th of October, to show the real motives of his undertaking.

The first part contained a particular enumeration of the grievances of the English nation, especially the King's arrogating to himself a dispensing power. His advancing Papists to civil, ecclesiastical, and military employments, and allowing them to sit in the privy council: his setting up an illegal commission for ecclesiastical affairs, in which there was one of his ministers of state who made public profession of the Popish religion, and who, at the time of his first professing it, declared that, for a great while before, he had believed that to be the only true religion; and by which not only the bishop of London was suspended, but the president and fellows of Magdalen College arbitrarily turned out of their freeholds, contrary to that express provision in Magna Charta, that no man shall lose his life or goods but by the laws of the land: his allowing Popish monasteries and colleges for Jesuits to be created: his turning out of public employments all such as would not concur with him in the repeal of the test and penal laws: his invading the privileges and seizing on the charters of most corporations, and placing Popish magistrates in some of them: his subjecting the courts of judicatory to his arbitrary and despotic power, and putting the administration of justice into the hands of Papists: his not only arming the Papists, in contempt of the laws, but likewise raising them up to the greatest military trusts, both by sea and land; strangers as well as natives, and Irish as well as English; that he might be in a capacity to enslave

the nation: his putting the whole government of Ireland into the hands of Papists: his assuming an absolute and arbitrary power in the kingdom of Scotland; from which it was apparent what was to be looked for in England.

Secondly, His Highness alleged, that those great and insufferable oppressions, and the open contempt of all law, together with the apprehensions of the sad consequences that must certainly follow upon it, had compelled the subjects to look after such remedies as are allowed of in all nations, and in the most absolute monarchies, all which had been without effect; his Majesty's evil counsellors having endeavoured to make all men apprehend the loss of their lives, liberties, honours, and estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this oppression by petitions and representations; an instance of which was, the prosecution of the seven bishops: that a peer of the realm (the Lord Lovelace) was treated as a criminal, only because he said that the subjects were not bound to obey the orders of a Popish justice of peace; though it is evident that, they being by law rendered incapable of all such trust, no regard is due to their orders: that both he and his consort the Princess had endeavoured to signify, with terms full of respect, to the King the just and deep regret which all these proceedings had given them, and declared what their thoughts were touching the repealing of the test and penal laws; but that these evil counsellors had put such ill constructions on their good intentions,

that they had endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from them : that the last and great remedy for all these evils was the calling of a parliament, which could not yet be compassed, nor could be easily brought about ; for those men apprehending that a lawful parliament would bring them to account for all their open violations of law, and for their conspiracies against the Protestant religion and the lives and liberties of the subjects, they had endeavoured, under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience, first to sow divisions between those of the Church of England and dissenters, with design to engage Protestants, who are equally concerned to preserve themselves from Popish oppression, into mutual quarrelling, that so, some advantage might be given them to bring about their designs ; and that both in the elections of members of parliament, and afterwards in the parliament itself : that they had also made such regulations as they thought fit and necessary, for securing all the members that were to be chosen by the corporations ; by which means they hoped to avoid the punishment they deserved, though it was apparent that all acts made by Popish magistrates were null and void of themselves : so that no parliament could be lawful for which the elections and returns were made by Popish magistrates, sheriffs, and mayors of towns ; and, therefore, as long as the magistracy was in such hands, it was not possible to have a free parliament legally called and chosen : that there were great and violent presumptions, inducing his Highness to believe,

that those evil counsellors, in order to the gaining the more time for the effecting their ill designs, had published that the Queen had brought forth a son, though there had appeared, both during the Queen's pretended bigness, and in the manner wherein the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only he himself, but all the good subjects of the kingdom, did vehemently suspect that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen; and though many doubted of the Queen's bigness, and of the birth of the child, yet there was not any thing done to satisfy them, or put an end to their doubts: that since his consort the Princess, and likewise he himself, had so great an interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the world knew, to the succession of the crown; since all the English did in the year 1672, when Holland was invaded with a most unjust war, use their utmost endeavours to put an end to that war, and that in opposition to those who were then in the government; since the English nation had ever testified most particular affection and esteem, both to his Highness's dearest consort and to himself, he could not excuse himself from espousing that interest, in a matter of such high consequence, and for contributing all that in him lay for the maintaining both of the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms: to the doing of which his Highness was most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen and other subjects of all ranks.

In the last place, his Highness declared that, for the fore-mentioned reasons, he has thought fit to go over to England, and to carry with him a force sufficient to defend him from the violence of those evil counsellors : that his expedition was intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as it was possible ; and that, in order to this, all the late charters, by which the elections of burgesses are limited contrary to the ancient custom, should be considered as null and of no force : that to this Parliament he would refer the enquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and of all things relating thereto, and to the right of succession : that he would concur in every thing that might procure the peace and happiness of the nation, under a just and legal government : that he would keep the forces under his command under all the strictness of martial discipline ; and promised that he would send back all those foreign forces as soon as the state of the nation would admit of it : that, therefore, he invited and required all persons whatsoever to come and assist him, in order to the executing his designs against all such as shall endeavour to oppose him : that he would likewise take care that a Parliament should be called in Scotland, for restoring the ancient constitution of that kingdom, and for bringing the matters of religion to such a settlement, that the people might live easy and happy ; that he would also study to bring the kingdom of Ireland to such a state, that

the settlement there might be religiously observed, and that the Protestant and British interest there might be secured.

This declaration being printed, and ready to be sent over to England to be dispersed among the people, the Prince was informed that the King, by the advice of the bishops, had redressed several grievances mentioned in his declaration.

Wherefore he thought fit to make the following addition to it: —

“ After we had printed our declaration, we have understood that the subverters of the religion and laws of these kingdoms, hearing of our preparations to assist the people against them, have begun to retract some of the arbitrary and despotic power that they had assumed, and to vacate some of their unjust judgments and decrees. The sense of their guilt, and the distrust of their force, have induced them to offer to the city of London some seeming relief from their great oppressions, hoping thereby to quiet the people, and to divert them from demanding a re-establishment of their religion and laws under the shelter of our arms. They did also give out, that we do intend to conquer and enslave the nation; and therefore it is we have thought fit to add a few words to our declaration.

“ We are confident that no persons can have such hard thoughts of us as to imagine we have any other design in this our undertaking than to procure a settlement of the religion and of the liberties and properties of the subject upon so sure a found-

ation that there may be no danger of the nation's relapsing into the like miseries at any time hereafter. And as the forces we have brought along with us are utterly disproportioned to that wicked design of conquering the nation, if we were capable of intending it, so the great numbers of the principal nobility and gentry, that are men of eminent quality and estates, and persons of known integrity and zeal, both for the religion and government of England, — many of them being also distinguished by their constant fidelity to the crown, who do both accompany us in this expedition and have earnestly solicited us to it, — will cover us from all such malicious insinuations. For it is not to be imagined that either those who invited us, or those who are already come to assist us, can join in a wicked attempt of conquest, to make void their own lawful titles to their honours, estates, and interests. We are also confident that all men see how little weight there is to be laid on all promises and engagements that can now be made, since there has been so little regard had in time past to the most solemn promises. And as that imperfect redress that is now offered is a plain confession of those violences of the government that we have set forth, so the defectiveness of it is no less apparent, for they lay down nothing but which they may take up at pleasure; and they reserve entire, and not so much as mention, their claims and pretences to an arbitrary and despotic power, which has been the root of all their oppression, and

the total subversion of the government. And it is plain that there can be no redress, no remedy offered, but in Parliament, by a declaration of the rights of the subjects that have been invaded, not by any pretended acts of grace to which the extremity of their affairs have driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare, that we will refer all to a free assembly of this nation in a lawful Parliament."

About the same time was published the resolution of the States General, containing the reasons that had obliged them to assist his Highness the Prince of Orange, with ships, men, and ammunition, in his intended expedition into England. The two principal reasons were, — 1st, That the Prince of Orange had been invited to this expedition by the English nobility, gentry, and clergy. 2dly, That the States had just cause to fear, that, in case the King of England became absolute in his own kingdom, he would, in conjunction with the King of France, endeavour to bring their state to confusion, and, if possible, totally subject it. This fear, according to Dr. Burnet, was founded upon the Earl of Castlemain having pressed the Pope to admit his master to mediate a reconciliation between the courts of Rome and Versailles, assuring his Holiness that when the reconciliation should be effected, the two kings would serve the cause of the church by a destructive war against Holland. The Pope, who did not at the time approve the plan, informed the Emperor of the matter, by whom it was communicated to the Prince of Orange.

Every thing being now in readiness for the projected expedition, the Prince went into the assembly of the States General, on the 16th of October, and there bade them a solemn farewell. The feelings evinced on this memorable and affecting occasion by the States bore ample testimony of their personal attachment to his Highness, with the deep and anxious interest they took in the success of a cause in which they were on every account so materially concerned, and which promised to shed new lustre on a name already enrolled in the lengthened annals of fame. On the 19th he embarked in a frigate of thirty guns, the fleet consisting of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, as many fire ships, with 400 transports for the conveyance of 4000 horse, and 10,000 foot. The most distinguished among the English who accompanied the Prince were the Earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, Lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Paulet, and Dumblain, Admiral Herbert, Colonel Henry Sidney, Sir Rowland Gwyn, Major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, with Mr. Russell, Mr. Ferguson, and Mr. Harboard. His Highness had besides with him Count Solmes, Count Stirum, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Overkirk, Count Schomberg, Marshal of France, with his son Count Charles, Monsieur Caillemoate, younger son of the Marquis de Rouvigny, with about 300 French officers, who had left their country on the score of religion. Admiral Herbert led the van of the fleet, Vice-Admiral Evertzen brought up the rear, and the Prince placed himself

in the main body, carrying a flag with the English colours and his arms, surrounded with this motto, "The Protestant religion and liberties of England;" beneath was "Je maintiendrai," the motto of the house of Nassau. The fleet sailed about four in the afternoon from the Flats near the Brill; the next day they came in sight of Scheveling, but encountering a terrible storm, which continued for two days and nights, they were compelled to put into Helvetosluis. The States on this occasion made use of an artifice which benefitted the Prince's cause, by rendering the English court more remiss in their preparations,—they directed the Haerlem and Amsterdam gazettes to aggravate the damage sustained by the fleet, and to insinuate that the Prince could not possibly be in a condition to pursue his design till the following spring. We have already seen how readily this report was believed by the court of London, and the influence it had with the King, by inducing him to revoke some of those acts of grace conceded in the hour of alarm.

It was at this critical juncture that Captain Langham, an Englishman in the service of the States, was seized on his arrival in England: in his portmanteau were found many copies of the Prince's declaration, which were sent to the court. The King on reading it was surprised by this expression, "That the Prince was most earnestly invited over by divers of the lords spiritual and temporal, besides many gentlemen and others." The archbishop and four or five bishops, then in London,

being immediately summoned, he demanded of them whether the contents of the Prince's declaration, relating to their inviting him over, were true? The bishops contented themselves with promising, in general terms, their faithful allegiance to his Majesty; but the King, little satisfied with this answer, required them to justify themselves to the world as to their part in that invitation; at the same time fixing a day on which he desired them to present a paper signifying their abhorrence of the Prince's intended invasion. He further informed them, that a declaration against the Prince of Orange was then in the press, and its publication would only be deferred in order to have their paper annexed to it. On the day appointed, the bishops, being ushered into the King's presence, begged, with all submission, to be excused from writing any thing of that nature, as well as from making a special defence to a general accusation, that they might not establish such a precedent against the privilege of peers; besides, their profession being to promote peace, they thought it behoved them not to breathe the spirit of war and defiance against a Prince so nearly allied to the crown. The King, unable to prevail with them, in great indignation commanded that they should withdraw. They were afterwards informed that one of the principal members of the council had advised the King to imprison, and extort the truth from them by violence. Meanwhile his Majesty, sensible that his prohibition respecting the publi-

cation of the Prince's declaration would be to no purpose, caused it to be reprinted, with remarks tending to justify his own and render odious the conduct of his Highness. At the same time a letter from the Prince to the officers of the English army, and another from Admiral Herbert to the fleet, declared his real intentions, and represented to them that, in being the instruments to accomplish the King's design, they were labouring to bring about their own ruin; they were conjured not to suffer themselves to be abused by a false notion of honour to serve the King, contrary to the manifest interests of their religion and country. Both these letters had so great an effect that many resolved not to draw their swords in this quarrel till a free Parliament, for the security of their liberties, should be called.

Several English authors affirm, that the King's fleet was more than sufficient to have defeated that of the States. Lord Dartmouth called a council of war, to consider whether it was proper to put to sea and engage the enemy: such, no doubt, would have been the course adopted, could dependence have been placed on the officers and seamen; but it was resolved, by a great majority, to watch, and, if possible, intercept the Dutch fleet.

In the afternoon of the 1st of November the Prince again put to sea; on the 3d his fleet entered the Channel, and lay between Dover and Calais, in order to await the arrival of those ships

which were behind. After a council of war, they sailed that night as far as Beachy Head, and the following morning came in view of the Isle of Wight. The King, having been induced to believe that the Prince designed to land in the north, and sent, in consequence, part of his army that way, now heard with extreme surprise that the hostile fleet was sailing westward. He flattered himself, however, that Lord Dartmouth would pursue and overpower them; but, whether from contrary winds, or mistrust of those under his command, he remained stationary till the Dutch ships had passed by. On the 4th, the fleet continued to steer their course in order to land at Dartmouth or Torbay. During the night the violence of the wind carried them beyond the desired port; but a favourable change taking place, the following morning the whole fleet was safely carried into Torbay, a place in every way most suited for landing the horse. Upon this occasion these two famous verses of Claudian were not inaptly applied to the Prince of Orange: —

“ O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.”

The Prince now displayed a red flag at the mizen yard-arm, while General Mackay, with six regiments of infantry, was the first to set foot on shore: this was upon the 5th of November, a day then rendered doubly remarkable in the history of England, for the second deliverance of the nation from the designs and dangers of popery.

The people crowded to the shore to welcome their arrival, and his Highness safely landed his whole army. The following day, at noon, he commenced his march towards Exeter; Lord Mordaunt, accompanied by Dr. Burnet, with four troops of horse, having reached it before him, to announce his having landed, and order the gates to be opened. The mayor, having pleaded his obligation of an oath to King James, was excused from waiting on the Prince on his arrival. The Bishop, Dr. Lamplugh, on receiving the intelligence, immediately hastened to the court, and was, in consequence, rewarded with the archbishopric of York, which had long been kept vacant, with the intention, it was supposed, of bestowing it on Father Petre, the King's confessor. His Highness, entering the city the following day, was lodged at the deanery, his army being quartered in detachments at Tiverton, Collumpton, and Honiton. The following Sunday he appeared at the cathedral, when Dr. Burnet, having mounted the pulpit, read his declaration to a crowded auditory, although the canons and officers of the church are said not to have remained to hear it.

No sooner was the King informed of the Prince's landing than he ordered his army to assemble with all possible diligence on Salisbury Plain. His forces were greatly scattered, the Irish troops being still at Chester and the Scotch at Carlisle. When we consider that he had cause, for upwards of two months previous, to expect the arrival of

his Highness, it does seem most extraordinary that he was not prepared with a strong force in the heart of the kingdom, so as to be ready to march against the enemy at whatever point he might have landed: it was the only means by which he could hope to prevent the desertion of many whose minds were at first undetermined, and likewise the only clear method of evincing his resolution to make an immediate and vigorous stand. There appears every probability that such a course might greatly have embarrassed the Prince, not that the people did otherwise than in their hearts wish success to his cause, but the recollection of the severities practised in that part of the kingdom after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth paralysed, in the first instance, their most active energies. The court might have taken advantage of this hesitation, and by prompt decision have succeeded in stopping the invasion on its very threshold. This, of course, is matter of conjecture; but at a critical moment of this nature much depends on the energy and activity displayed at the very onset.

The King seemed vainly intent upon seeking to persuade the people that the Prince's forces were too contemptible to cause any serious alarm. The better to prove his own confidence, he declared, on hearing that the counties of York and Kent, as well as the city of London, were about to send addresses praying him to come to an accommodation with the Prince, that he would look upon all

those as his enemies who should pretend to advise him to treat with the invader of his kingdoms. He also published a manifesto, asserting that the Prince's secret design was to usurp the crown; but his Highness's declaration had more effect than all these efforts on the part of the King: people looked upon the one as intending to subvert their religion and liberties, and upon the other as the nation's deliverer.

The Prince did not find in the first instance the encouragement he was led to expect: he was nine days at Exeter without being joined by any person of distinction; it is even affirmed that it was debated in council whether he should not re-embark for Holland: this circumstance alone is enough to show the extraordinary apathy and supineness of the court. On the tenth day, however, he was joined by some of the principal gentlemen of the country, among these was Sir Edward Seymour; by whose advice an association was drawn and signed by all the persons who were with the Prince, or who afterwards joined him.

The Prince, somewhat annoyed and disappointed at their previous apparent slowness, could not in the first instance refrain from addressing them in the following words:—

“ Though we know not all your persons, yet we have a catalogue of your names, and remember the character of your worth and interest in your country. You see we are come according to your invitation and our promise. Our duty to God

obliges us to protect the Protestant religion, and our love to mankind, your liberties and properties. We expected you that dwelt so near the place of our landing would have joined us sooner : not that it is now too late, nor that we want your military assistance, so much as your countenance and presence to justify our declared pretensions, in order to accomplish our good and gracious designs. Though we have brought both a good fleet and a good army to render these kingdoms happy, by rescuing all Protestants from popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, by restoring them to their rights and properties established by law, and by promoting of peace and trade, which is the soul of government, and the very life blood of a nation, yet we rely more on the goodness of God and the justice of our cause than on any human force and power whatever. Yet since God is pleased we shall make use of human means, and not expect miracles, for our preservation and happiness, let us not neglect making use of this gracious opportunity, but with prudence and courage put in execution our honourable purposes. Therefore, gentlemen, friends, and fellow-Protestants, we bid you and all your followers most heartily welcome to our court and camp. Let the whole world now judge if our pretensions are not just, generous, sincere, and above price, since we might have even a bridge of gold to return back ; but it is our principle and resolution rather to die in a good cause than live in a bad one, well knowing that

virtue and true honour is its own reward, and the happiness of mankind our great and only design.”

The words of the association ran as follows : —

“ We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, who have now joined with the Prince of Orange for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for the maintaining of the ancient government, and the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, do engage to Almighty God, and to his Highness the Prince, and to one another, to stick firm to this cause, in the defence of it, and never depart from it till our religion, laws, and liberties are so far secured to us in a free Parliament, that they shall no more be in danger of falling into popery and slavery. And whereas, we are engaged in the common cause under the protection of the Prince of Orange, by which means his person is exposed to danger, and to the cursed attempts of Papists and other bloody men, we do, therefore, solemnly engage to God and to one another, that if any such attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those that make it, but all their adherents, and all that we find in arms against us, with the utmost severity of a just revenge, to their utter ruin and destruction ; and that the execution of any such attempt (which God of his infinite mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this cause, which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the rigour that so barbarous an attempt shall deserve.”

Upon this, the Prince left Exeter, and proceeded towards Salisbury. Every day now brought to his standard persons distinguished by birth or wealth. Lord Colchester, son of the Earl of Rivers, waited upon him, accompanied by Mr. Wharton and Colonel Godfrey, with about sixty mounted followers. This example was speedily imitated by the Earl of Abingdon, Captain Clarges, and Mr. Russell; but by far the most important accession was that of Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, colonel of dragoons, who, having left Salisbury under pretence of an order from the King, brought with him his own regiment, besides those of Berwick and St. Alban's. At the same time, Lord Delamere, having raised a considerable force in Cheshire, advanced to Nottingham, to join the gentlemen of that county; and on the 22d of November the following declaration was published at the rendezvous there: —

“ We, the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of these northern counties, assembled together at Nottingham, for the defence of the laws, liberties, and properties, according to those freeborn liberties and privileges descended to us from our ancestors, as the undoubted birthright of the subjects of this kingdom of England (not doubting but the infringers and invaders of our rights will represent us to the rest of the nation in the most malicious dress they can put on us), do hereby unanimously think it our duty to declare to the rest of our

fellow-subjects the grounds of our present undertaking.

“ We are, by innumerable grievances, made sensible that the very fundamentals of our religion, liberties, and properties, are about to be rooted out by our late jesuitical privy council, as hath been of late too apparent,—1. By the King’s dispensing with all the established laws at his pleasure. 2. By displacing all officers out of all offices of trust and advantage, and placing others in their room that are known Papists, deservedly made incapable by the established laws of our land. 3. By destroying the charters of most corporations in the land. 4. By discouraging all persons that are not Papists, preferring such as turn to popery. 5. By displacing all honest and conscientious judges, unless they would, contrary to their consciences, declare that to be law which was merely arbitrary. 6. By branding all men with the name of rebels that offered to justify the laws, in a legal course, against the arbitrary proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt ministers. 7. By burdening the nation with an army to maintain the violation of the rights of the subjects. 8. By discountenancing the established reformed religion. 9. By forbidding the subjects the benefit of petitioning, and construing them libellers, so rendering the laws a nose of wax to serve their arbitrary ends; and many more such like, too long here to enumerate.

“ We being thus made sadly sensible of the arbitrary and tyrannical government that is by the

influence of jesuitical councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare, that, not being willing to deliver our posterity over to such a condition of popery and slavery, as the aforesaid oppressions inevitably threaten, we will, to the utmost of our power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange (whom we hope God Almighty hath sent to rescue us from the oppression aforesaid), will use our utmost endeavours for the recovery of our almost ruined laws, liberties, and religion; and herein we hope all good Protestant subjects will, with their lives and fortunes, be assistant to us, and not be bugbeared with the terms of rebels, by which they would fright us to become perfect slaves to their tyrannical insolencies and usurpations: for we assure ourselves, that no rational or unbiassed person will judge it rebellion to defend our laws and religion, which all our princes have sworn at their coronations; which oath, how well it hath been observed of late, we desire a free parliament may have the consideration of.

“ We own it rebellion to resist a king that governs by law; but he hath been always accounted a tyrant that made his will the law; and to resist such a one we justly esteem it no rebellion, but a necessary defence: in this consideration we doubt not of all honest men’s assistance, and humbly hope for and implore the great God’s protection, that turneth the hearts of his people as pleaseth him best, it having been observed that people can never be of one mind without his inspiration; which

hath, in all ages, confirmed that observation, *Vox populi est vox Dei.*

“The present restoring of charters, and reversing the oppressive and unjust judgment given on Magdalen College Fellows, it is plain, are but to still the people, like plums to children, by deceiving them for awhile; but if they shall by this stratagem be fooled, till this present storm that threatens the Papists be passed, as soon as they shall be resettled, the former oppression will be put on with greater vigour; but we hope in vain is the net spread in the sight of the birds: for, 1st, The Papists’ old rule is, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, as they term Protestants, though the Popish religion is the greatest heresy: and 2dly, Queen Mary’s so ill observing her promises to the Suffolk men, that helped her to her throne; and above all, 3dly, The Pope’s dispensing with the breach of oaths, treaties, or promises, at his pleasure, when it makes for the service of holy church, as they term it. These we say are such convincing reasons to hinder us from giving credit to the aforesaid mock shows of redress, that we think ourselves bound in conscience to rest on no security that shall not be approved by a freely elected parliament, to whom, under God, we refer our cause.”

In the north the Earl of Danby and Lord Fairfax seized upon the city of York, turning out the Lord Mayor and other magistrates who were Papists or ill affected. The Earl of Bath took

possession of Plymouth in the name of the Prince ; and at the same time all the seaport towns in Cornwall declared in his favour, so that he had no enemy behind to disturb the rear of his advancing army.

On the other hand, in the midst of the confusion that reigned in the court, the two Archbishops, with the Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Rochester, Peterborough, and Oxford, the Dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the Earls of Dorset, Clare, Clarendon, Burlington, Anglesey, Rochester, the Lords Newport, Paget, Chandos, and Ossulston, meeting together in London, drew up a petition to the following effect, which was signed at the Bishop of Rochester's house in Westminster, and presented to the King on the 17th of November : —

“ We, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, in a deep sense of the miseries of a war, now breaking forth in the bowels of this your kingdom, and of the danger to which your Majesty's sacred person is thereby like to be exposed, and also of the distractions of your people by reason of their present grievances, do think ourselves bound in conscience, of the duty we owe to God and our holy religion, to your Majesty and our country, most humbly to submit to your Majesty that, in our opinion, the only visible way to preserve your Majesty, and this your kingdom, would be the calling of a parliament regular and free in all its circumstances. We, therefore, do most earnestly beseech your

Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased, with all speed, to call such a parliament, wherein we shall be most ready to promote such councils, and resolutions of peace, and settlements in church and state, as may conduce to your Majesty's honour and safety, and to the quieting the minds of your people.

“ We do likewise humbly beseech your Majesty, in the mean time, to use such means for the preventing the effusion of Christian blood as to your Majesty shall seem most meet.”

To this the King returned the following answer : —

“ My Lords,

“ What you ask of me I most earnestly desire ; and I promise you, upon the faith of a king, that I will have a parliament, and such a one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm ; for how is it possible a parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near an hundred voices ?”

Although the King assumed the appearance of confidence, continued desertions among his forces caused him great uneasiness ; it was judged necessary by his council that he should proceed as soon as possible to the army, in order to keep those who might be wavering firm to their duty. He accord-

ingly departed on the 18th of November, after having recommended the care of the city to the Lord Mayor, and renewed his promise of calling a parliament the moment the Prince of Orange should quit the kingdom; but, at the very time when he seemed disposed to give general satisfaction, he left at Whitehall a council composed of five lords, all, with the exception of Lord Godolphin, odious to the people: these were Chancellor Jefferies, Lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Preston. On the 19th he reached Salisbury, where the officers of his army, who were most devoted to him, paid their respects, expressing an abhorrence of Lord Cornbury's defection. On the following day most of the chief officers desired Lord Feversham to assure the King, that upon any occasion they should be ready to spill the last drop of their blood in his service; but yet they could not in conscience fight against a prince who was come over with no other design than to procure the calling of a free parliament, for the securing of their religion and liberties. This declaration, at which the King was extremely surprised, proved that his army could not be relied on. Lord Feversham entertaining strong suspicions respecting Lord Churchill, then one of the King's favourites, earnestly recommended his being arrested; but James, either unwilling to believe him wavering, or fearing such a step might occasion a mutiny, would not follow this advice. The very next day Lord Churchill, with the Duke of Grafton and Colonel Berkeley,

went over to the Prince of Orange, leaving the following letter addressed to the King: —

“ Sir,

“ Men are seldom suspected of sincerity when they act contrary to their interests ; and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions, yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your Majesty and the world that I am actuated by a higher principle, when I offer such a violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest personal obligations imaginable to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and necessary concern for my religion (which no good man can oppose), and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your Majesty’s true interest and the Protestant religion. But though I can no longer join with these persons in bringing such things to effect, still will I always,

with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes, Sir, your Majesty's most dutiful and most obliged subject and servant."

It is here not altogether foreign to our subject to give a slight sketch of the early years of one who was destined to play so important a part both in the field and the cabinet during a period the most memorable in the history of Europe, and to shake to its very foundation the gigantic power of Louis XIV. Lord Churchill, afterwards so celebrated under the title of Duke of Marlborough, was the second son of Sir Winston Churchill, a gentleman of good family and high Tory principles, who was distinguished for his devotion to the cause of Charles I. Soon after the Restoration, at the age of twelve, he was removed from St. Paul's School, and made page of honour to the Duke of York: having been afterwards appointed to an ensigncy in a regiment of foot guards, he made his first essay in arms at the defence of Tangiers against the Moors, and further perfected himself in the art of war under the celebrated Marshal Turenne, in the early part of the Dutch invasion, when Charles II. had been induced to lend his support to Louis. When yet very young, he married the beautiful Sarah Jennings, who had been brought up with, and afterwards appointed maid of honour to the Princess

Anne. On the accession of James II. to the crown he was raised to the peerage, and subsequently, for his services at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, rewarded with the colonelcy of a troop of horse guards. That he continued, up to the very moment of his joining the Prince of Orange, to retain the King's confidence and regard appears undoubted; and unanswerable indeed should be the motives urged in defence of an action which impartiality is compelled to admit as bearing strongly the semblance of treachery. That his conduct, on the present occasion, was dictated by a sense of duty above every temporal and selfish object, we are willing to hope; still, subsequent events in the career of Lord Churchill clearly evince that he was no stranger in the arts of intrigue. His well-known correspondence with James, after so glaring a defection, cannot but render it, to a certain extent, dubious how far, in joining the Prince of Orange, this celebrated man was swayed only by purity and uprightness of principle: even admitting such to have been the case, it surely would have been more worthy a great and independent mind at an earlier period to have resigned his post near the King's person, following at once the fortunes of a new master, rather than to have forsaken, at the eleventh hour, a monarch whose cause and interests he had till then affected to espouse, and to whom he owed a heavy debt of personal gratitude. It is no pleasing task to tarnish the laurels of one who shed lustre on the

character of the hero and the statesman ; but it is the province of the historian to be unsparing and impartial. Admitting, therefore, the sincerity of Lord Churchill's attachment to the Protestant religion, and his readiness, if necessary, to die in its defence, the time and manner of deserting his ill-fated patron was not only such as to reflect little credit on his disinterestedness, but even to render questionable the honour of his heart.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRINCE OF DENMARK AND THE PRINCESS ANNE QUIT THE KING. — JAMES SENDS A DEPUTATION TO TREAT WITH THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. — CONDITIONS PROPOSED BY WILLIAM. — FLIGHT OF THE QUEEN WITH THE PRINCE OF WALES INTO FRANCE. — THE PRINCE ADVANCES WITH VERY LITTLE OPPOSITION TO READING. — THE KING QUILTS WHITEHALL IN THE NIGHT, AND THROWS THE PRIVY SEAL INTO THE THAMES. — DECLARATION OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL. — DEATH OF CHANCELLOR JEFFERIES. — THE PRINCE ARRIVES AT WINDSOR. — JAMES RECOGNISED AT FEVERSHAM AND BROUGHT BACK TO LONDON. — SENDS LORD FEVERSHAM TO THE PRINCE, WHO CAUSES HIM TO BE PUT UNDER ARREST. — DUKE OF GRAFTON FIRED AT IN THE STRAND. — JAMES DESIRED TO RETIRE TO HAM HOUSE. — IS CONVEYED TO ROCHESTER AT HIS OWN REQUEST. — ARRIVAL OF WILLIAM AT ST. JAMES'S. — ASSEMBLES THE LORDS. — ADDRESSES FROM THE CITY OF LONDON AND THE COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE. — SECOND DEPARTURE OF JAMES FROM THE KINGDOM.

THE King was deeply affected by the defection of Lord Churchill; he now saw no one on whom he could rely; no longer, therefore, choosing to venture his person with the army, he left Salisbury and returned to London, with a precipitation which almost bordered on a flight. Before his departure, he published a proclamation promising a free pardon to all who had joined the Prince of Orange, provided they quitted him within twenty days. On his return he experienced a still greater mortification in the desertion of Prince George of Denmark, who, leaving him at Andover, went over to the Prince, with the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Hewitt; having written the following letter in vindication of his conduct:—

Sir,

“ With a heart full of grief am I forced to write what prudence will not permit me to say to your face ; and may I ever find credit with your Majesty and protection from Heaven, as what I now do is free from passion, vanity, or design, with which actions of this nature are too often accompanied. I am not ignorant of the frequent mischiefs wrought in the world by factious pretences on the score of religion ; but your Majesty has always shown too disinterested a sense of it to doubt the just effects of the same, in one whose practices have, I hope, never given the world cause to censure his real conviction of it, or his backwardness to perform what his honour and conscience prompt him to. How then can I longer disguise my just concern for that religion in which I have been so happily educated, which my judgment thoroughly convinces me to be the best, and for the support of which I am so highly interested in my native country ; and is not England, now, by the most endearing tie, become so ?

“ Whilst the restless spirits of the enemies of the reformed religion, backed by the cruel zeal of France, justly alarm and unite all the Protestant princes of Christendom, and engage them in so vast an expense for the support of it, can I act so degenerate and mean a part as to deny my concurrence to such worthy endeavours for disabusing of your Majesty by the reinforcement of those laws and establishment of that government on which

a lone depends the well-being of your Majesty and the Protestant religion in Europe? This, Sir, is that irresistible and only cause which could come in competition with my duty and obligations to your Majesty, and be able to tear me from you whilst the same affectionate desire of serving you continues in me. Could I secure your person by the hazard of my life, I should think it could not be better employed; and would to God these your distracted kingdoms might yet receive that satisfactory compliance from your Majesty, in all their justifiable pretensions, as might, upon the only sure foundation, that of the love and interest of your subjects, establish your government, and as strongly unite the hearts of your people to you as is that of, Sir, your Majesty's most humble and most obedient son and servant."

The Prince of Orange having left Exeter had reached Sherborne, whence it was in his power to march either to Salisbury or Bristol, as circumstances might admit. On hearing that the King had returned to London, he proceeded to Salisbury, and made his entry into that city amidst the acclamations of the people. It is said that the King's army was so superior in number, that had he at once advanced to meet the Prince he must have greatly embarrassed him; yet it is not likely that his Highness would have risked the event of a battle, when he had so many advantageous places upon which to fall back, but rather have waited till

defection in the enemy's ranks had spread to a greater extent. The desertion of his principal officers was not the only circumstance James had to deplore : scarcely a day passed without his receiving intelligence of some fresh disaster having occurred. Lord Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise had forced the Duke of Beaufort to surrender the city of Bristol ; the Earl of Devonshire, at the head of a great number of Derbyshire gentlemen, declared in favour of the Prince ; the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Oxford soon joined his cause ; the Duke of Ormond entered Oxford without resistance, and caused the Prince's declaration to be read there ; lastly, five commissioners from Scotland were said to be coming to London, headed by the Duke of Queensbury, to demand a free parliament for that kingdom ; but the King's heaviest affliction was to see himself forsaken by his daughter, the Princess of Denmark, who had privately withdrawn from Whitehall, attended by Ladies Churchill and Berkeley, with the Bishop of London, and retired to Nottingham, from whence she was conducted to the Prince her husband at Oxford. Previous to her departure, she wrote the following letter to the Queen :—

“ Madam,

“ I beg your pardon, if I am so deeply affected with the surprising news of the Prince's being gone as not to be able to see you, but to leave this paper to express my humble duty to the King and

yourself, and to let you know that I am about to absent myself, to avoid the King's displeasure, which I am not able to bear, either against the Prince or myself; and I shall stay at so great a distance, as not to return before I hear the happy news of a reconciliation. And as I am confident the Prince did not leave the King with any other design than to use all possible means for his preservation, so I hope you will do me the justice to believe, that I am incapable of following him for any other end. Never was one in such an unhappy condition, so divided between duty and affection to a father and a husband; and therefore I know not what to do, but to follow one to preserve the other. I see the general falling off of the nobility and gentry, who avow they have no other end than to prevail with the King to secure the Protestant creed, which they saw in so much peril by the violent counsels of the priests, who, to promote their own religion, did not care to what dangers they exposed the King. I am fully persuaded that the Prince of Orange designs the King's safety and preservation, and hope all things may be composed, without more bloodshed, by the calling a parliament. God grant a happy end to these troubles, that the King's reign may be prosperous, and that I may shortly meet you in perfect peace and safety; till when, let me beg you to continue the same favourable opinion that you have hitherto had of your most obedient daughter and servant."

The defection was now universal : the King was plunged into a labyrinth of difficulties. " God help me, my own children have even forsaken me," was his exclamation : the Queen was dismayed ; Father Petre had retired to France under the protection of Lord Waldegrave, the successor of Skelton ; the violent counsels of Jefferies were unseasonable ; the popish advisers, seeing their measures disconcerted, thought only of saving themselves from the approaching storm, to which they left their sovereign exposed. Barillon, the French ambassador, and Monsieur de Lauzun, then in London, vented themselves in useless reproaches on the King, for having refused the offered assistance of France, without directing him how to repair the error. In such extreme distress, his only refuge was to turn to the Protestant peers, whose councils he had till then rejected, whom he had deprived of all employments and treated as enemies ; he accordingly assembled all the peers, spiritual and temporal, then in London : the number was but small, many having joined the Prince of Orange. On his praying for their advice in the present emergency, he had the mortification to hear a lengthened enumeration of all his unwarrantable proceedings since his accession to the throne, and that the only remedy for the present evils was the calling a free parliament. They pointed out to his Majesty, 1st, the necessity of granting a general pardon to all who had either come over with the Prince of Orange, or joined his standard since his

arrival: 2dly, to depute certain lords to his Highness to treat about a suspension of arms, and endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation; and, lastly, to convince the world of his sincerity by immediately removing Papists from all offices of trust and power.

The King, having considered the matter over, on the following day declared in council his resolution to call a free parliament, to meet on the 15th of January, for which the Chancellor was ordered to issue the writs; he then published a proclamation, declaring that all his subjects should have free liberty to elect, and all peers and members of the House of Commons full power to sit and serve in parliament, although they might have taken up arms against him; he likewise declared his intention of sending commissioners to the Prince of Orange; but with regard to what related to the Roman Catholics he would leave it to be debated in parliament. However, Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, was displaced from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and Colonel Skelton appointed to succeed him. The Prince of Orange, meanwhile, having marched with his army to Hungerford, after a consultation with the Queen and the Jesuits, it was resolved to send the following proposals of accommodation to his Highness: the commissioners appointed were the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Godolphin, who, waiting upon the Prince on the 8th of December thus addressed him:—

“ Sir,

“ The King commandeth us to acquaint you, that he observeth all the differences and causes of complaint alleged by your Highness are considered proper to be referred to a free parliament. His Majesty, as he hath already declared, was resolved before this to call one, but thought that in the present state of affairs it was advisable to defer it till things were more composed. Yet seeing that his people still continue to desire it, he hath put forth his proclamation in order to the same, and hath issued his writs for the calling of it. And to prevent any cause of interruption in it he will consent to every thing that can be reasonably required for the security of all those that shall come to it ; his Majesty hath therefore sent us to attend your Highness for the adjusting of all matters that shall be agreed to be necessary to the freedom of elections, and the security of sitting, and is ready immediately to enter into a treaty to that effect. His Majesty proposeth, that in the mean time the respective armies may be restrained within such limits, and at such a distance from London, as may prevent the apprehensions that the parliament may in any kind be disturbed, being desirous that the meeting of it may be no longer delayed than it must be by the usual and necessary forms.”

The next day the Prince submitted in reply the following conditions : —

“ We, with the advice of the lords and gentlemen assembled with us, have, in answer to the same, made these following proposals :— 1st, That all Papists, and such persons as are not qualified by law, be disarmed, disbanded, and removed from all employments civil and military. 2dly, That all proclamations which reflect on us, or any that have come to us, or declared for us, be recalled ; if any persons for having so assisted may have been committed, they be forthwith set at liberty. 3dly, That for the security and safety of the city of London the custody and government of the Tower be immediately put into the hands of the said city. 4thly, That if his Majesty shall think fit to be at London during the sitting of the parliament, we may be there also, with an equal number of our guards ; or if his Majesty shall please to be in any place from London, or whatever distance he thinks fit, we may be at a place of the same distance : that the respective armies do remove from London thirty miles, and that no more foreign forces be brought into the kingdom. 5thly, That for the security of the city of London and its trade Tilbury Fort be put into the hands of the said city. 6thly, That to prevent the landing of French or other foreign troops Portsmouth may be put into such hands as, by his Majesty and us, shall be agreed upon. 7thly, That some sufficient part of the public revenue be assigned us for the maintaining of our forces until the meeting of a free parliament.”

Some historians have, with great injustice, looked upon the reply of the Prince as very dictatorial ; but considering the circumstances of the case, the terms offered were surely better than James could have a right to expect : he could no longer hope to be able to execute his first designs, and to be relieved from his difficulties by restoring all things to their former state was the most advantageous situation in which he could be placed. Had he at once closed with these proposals, he, in all probability, would have retained his crown ; although, perhaps, with some diminution of those rights and privileges his brother, as well as himself, had laid claim to ; even such a position, considering how he had governed, as well as the determination naturally felt by the parliament to secure the religion and laws in such a manner as to prevent their being again endangered, was not one of extraordinary severity. It was clear the lords would recommend his acceding to the above conditions, and his calling an extraordinary council appeared to be merely a matter of form : he was obviously not in a situation to impose his own conditions ; circumstanced as he then was, deserted by his supposed staunchest friends, even by his own daughter and son-in-law, and conscious, as he must have been, that his former conduct could give him little claim to trust or confidence, it would seem scarcely consistent with reason to imagine that the advice even of his most devoted popish partisans, backed by his own enthusiastic bigotry, could have induced

him to hesitate in acceding to terms which were far more favourable than the most sanguine could have ventured to anticipate : it was not, therefore, doubted but that on the following day some resolutions conducive to the general welfare and quiet of the kingdom would be adopted.

Yet so blind and perverse is religious bigotry, that a single consultation during the night with his popish counsellors annihilated all such flattering expectations, These persons easily perceived what they would have to expect from a free parliament : it was evident to them that nothing could deliver the King from his present difficulties but giving up the popish party to the resentment of the nation, and sanctioning the passing of acts calculated to hinder the Roman Catholic religion from ever being established in the country. They felt little concern for the interest of James beyond what might serve their own purposes ; and thought it more advantageous to their cause that he should maintain all his pretensions, rather than sacrifice *them* to the parliament. They represented how dishonourable it would be to retract what he had done, and how prejudicial to the Popish creed to be compelled to give his consent to acts of parliament which must tend to render its establishment in England impracticable ; they therefore recommended him to retire to France, by the assistance of whose powerful monarch he might hope to be restored to his crown, and securely complete the work he had so gloriously commenced. The above

advice was well worthy the jesuitical crew who so artfully instilled it into the mind of the infatuated Prince. Their own interests were obviously their sole and selfish object : they cared little for the King but as a willing instrument to forward their designs ; and the loss of the crown to himself and his heirs was preferable in their eyes to the alternative of his being able only to retain it at the expense of all their long concerted and much desired projects ; and they had sufficient knowledge of his weakness to believe that even at the very moment when he was about to escape from his difficulties, their insidious counsels could prevail upon him for their sakes to rush back into certain destruction : it may well, indeed, be said that James pursued a course of conduct worthy of the best days of a Gregory or an Innocent, and that his chief misfortune was to have been born to reign over Protestant and constitutional England, instead of having to sway the sceptres of despotic Austria, or inquisitorial Spain.

The popish party were not slow in causing to the Queen such apprehensions as speedily induced her to second all their plans : they hinted at the suspicions that existed respecting the birth of the Prince of Wales, suggested the possibility of the parliament pronouncing him supposititious in order to favour the Princess of Orange, and concluded by asserting that a short exile in the dominions of a powerful and generous monarch, who was able to restore them to their rights, was unquestionably

preferable to remaining in England with merely a shadow of sovereignty, in dishonour and indigence, and dependent on the will of those whom they ought to command. These considerations, supported by Barillon and Lauzun, made such an impression on the Queen, that she resolved to retire at once into France with the Prince of Wales, after having extracted a solemn promise from the King that he would follow her with all convenient speed.

Accordingly, on the night of the 9th of December, the Queen, in disguise, crossed the Thames in an open boat to Lambeth. She waited under the walls of a church till a coach could be prepared at the next inn; when going to Gravesend, she embarked, with the Prince of Wales, in a small vessel, which conveyed them with safety to Calais. The plan of her flight was concerted by the Count de Lauzun, Riva an Italian, and Labedie a page: she was accompanied by the Marquis and Marchioness of Powis, and two Italian female attendants. Labedie's wife passed the Queen off to the captain of the vessel as an Italian lady returning to her own country. Louis XIV., informed of her arrival, went to meet her as far as Chatou, whence he conducted her to the palace of St. Germain, where an establishment was ready prepared, suited to the rank of a queen of France. Never had Louis appeared more truly magnificent than in the reception he gave the unfortunate exiles; and his memorable observation to

the Queen, who was dazzled by the splendour which every where surrounded her, proves that he possessed a mind formed for great undertakings, and that he looked upon his mandate as dictating what the nations of Europe were bound to obey :—“ Je vous rends, madame, un triste service; mais j'espère vous en rendre bientôt des plus grands et des plus heureux.”

Meanwhile the Prince continued to advance. At Reading, a slight opposition was offered by some companies of Irish dragoons, under the command of Colonel Lanier; but they speedily quitted their posts: Maidenhead Bridge was also abandoned, in consequence of the inhabitants beating a Dutch march during the night, and thereby causing the garrison, in alarm, to make a retreat.

The King, fully determined on following the Queen, had, in order to cover his design, declared his intention of leading his forces in person against the Prince, and even commanded the Life Guards to meet him at Uxbridge. On the night of the 11th of December he set out, in a boat, from Whitehall, accompanied by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Labedie, the only persons privy to his intentions. Before his departure, he wrote to the Earl of Feversham to disband the army, without making any provision for their pay. He caused all the writs for electing the parliament to be burnt, and the great seal to be cast into the Thames. Desperate indeed must have been the

condition of a monarch who could hope to gain advantage by means of anarchy and confusion.

The King's departure becoming generally known, great consternation ensued. The mob, conceiving they might give free vent to their feelings, attacked and demolished many Catholic chapels recently erected, and committed great acts of violence against the residences both of the Spanish and Florentine ministers. The magistrates finding themselves not sufficiently strong to oppose their fury, in order to repress such lawless proceedings, the lords spiritual and temporal assembled at Guildhall, and, sending for the Lord Mayor and aldermen, agreed to demand the keys of the Tower from Colonel Skelton, which he willingly resigned, and commit them to the charge of Lord Lucas, a man of known courage and integrity; nor were they less energetic in taking active means to quell the riots, which they shortly succeeded in effecting; then taking into consideration the dangerous conjuncture the flight of the King had placed the nation in, they drew up the following declaration:—

“ That they did reasonably hope that, the King having issued out his proclamation and writs for calling a free parliament, they might have rested securely under the expectation of that meeting; but that the King having withdrawn himself, as they apprehended, in order to his departure out of the kingdom, by the pernicious advice of persons ill affected to the nation, they cannot, without

being wanting to their duty, be silent under the calamities wherein the popish councils, which had so long prevailed, had miserably involved them; and therefore unanimously resolved to apply themselves to his Highness the Prince of Orange, who, with so great kindness to these kingdoms, so vast expense, and so much hazard to his own person, had undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a free parliament, to rescue them, with as little effusion of Christian blood as possible, from the imminent dangers of popery and slavery; declaring further, that they would with their utmost endeavours assist his Highness in the obtaining of such a parliament with all speed; wherein their laws, liberties, and properties might be secured, the Church of England in particular, with a due liberty to Protestant dissenters; and the Protestant religion and interest over the whole world might be supported and encouraged, to the glory of God, the happiness of the established government, and the advantage of all princes and states in Christendom that may be therein concerned."

This was signed by the two archbishops, twenty-two temporal lords, and five bishops; and the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Weymouth, Lord Culpepper, and the Bishop of Ely were directed to meet his Highness at Henley-upon-Thames; four aldermen were also deputed by the lord mayor and common council to proceed to the same place; and the lieutenancy of London, on behalf of themselves

and the rest of the militia, followed this example. The Prince was entreated to repair to London, where he would be received with universal satisfaction.

During the riots, Chancellor Jefferies was discovered at a small house in Wapping, in the disguise of a sailor, seeking to escape to Hamburgh. He was seized and carried before the Lord Mayor, who would not detain him. Seeing himself, however, at the mercy of an enraged mob, he desired to be sent to the Tower; which request was at last granted. It is said he offered to discover many secrets; and for that reason was detained in prison until the affairs of the government could be settled: but he died in the interval, in consequence, it was said, of the injuries he had received at the hands of the mob. Some persons ascribed his death to a long-standing disease. The Earl of Feversham, on the receipt of the King's letter, after having communicated with the principal officers, proceeded to disband the troops, sending information of the same to the Prince of Orange. He was greatly censured for this conduct, and for having acted without the advice of the lords assembled in London, who, in the present state of the kingdom, could alone appear authorised to interpose: the consequence was, that considerable alarm existed throughout the country lest a large body of men unprovided for, and subject to no control, might be induced to commit every species of excess.

On the 14th of December the Prince proceeded

to Windsor, where he was received with every appearance of respect by the mayor and aldermen. The lodgings of the Prince of Denmark had been provided for his accommodation. While he was preparing to advance towards London he received intelligence that the King being in a small vessel near Feversham, ready to sail for France, had been discovered, in consequence of Sir Edward Hales having sent his servant on shore; who being observed, when about to return, to make signs to some persons on board a bark, occasioned suspicions to arise, which induced some fishermen and others to board the vessel. The King, not being immediately recognised, at first experienced some ill treatment; however, upon his being made known to them, he was not suffered to depart, but forcibly conducted to an inn in the town. Here he sent for the Earl of Winchelsea, lord lieutenant of the county, who prevailed upon him to return towards London.

Various were the feelings excited on the news of this event reaching London: some wished he had been suffered to depart; others were glad of an opportunity of convincing him that evil intentions were never entertained against his person. The lords and magistrates of London, who had made such advances to the Prince of Orange, were somewhat astounded, and alarmed at the possibility of an alteration in the state of affairs taking place. The Prince was also thrown into some perplexity; nevertheless, as the King had no army, and, by his

hasty flight, had entirely forfeited the confidence of his friends, he was not in a condition to dictate to, but rather to depend upon, others. Monsieur Zuyles-tein was despatched to desire him to remain at Rochester till something could be agreed on ; but he having taken a wrong road, the King arrived in London on Sunday, the 16th of December, about four in the afternoon. Being restored to his palace, and, in some manner, to his deserted authority, he discovered an inclination to resume his old measures, and defy the Protestants : possibly the acclamations as he passed through London had revived his courage, and afforded him hopes of a general declaration in his favour. He published immediately an order of council, wherein he said, “ that being given to understand that divers outrages had been committed in several parts of the kingdom, by burning, pulling down, and defacing of houses, he commanded all lord lieutenants, &c. to prevent such outrages for the future, and suppress all riotous assemblies.” This was the last public act, in addition to so many others during his reign, in favour of the Papists. The King, on his journey to London, despatched Lord Feversham with a letter to the Prince to invite him to the palace at St. James’s, with what number of guards and troops he should think convenient to bring, in order that they might personally confer together about the means of redressing the public grievances. His Highness returned no answer ; but the moment the Earl had quitted his presence, Monsieur

Bentinck demanded his sword, saying he had orders to put him under arrest. This step, by some, was considered to have been taken in consequence of the late hasty disbanding of the army; by others, in order to remove him from the King's person; because, although a Protestant, he was known to be entirely devoted to James's interests.*

In a council held by the Prince it was resolved, that his Highness could not remain in safety at St. James's unless his Majesty and the popish guards should be removed to a convenient distance from London: an accident, which happened two days before, excited this misgiving on the part of his friends. The Duke of Grafton, marching through the Strand at the head of a regiment, in order to take possession of Tilbury Fort, had been shot at by an Irish officer; much more, then, might a similar attempt be apprehended against the Prince by any of the King's guards. It was first proposed, in this debate, to send the King prisoner to Breda; but the Prince of Orange strongly protested against such a measure, saying he could not consent to his being placed under any restraint. At last, since the Prince's presence in London was absolutely necessary, it was agreed that the King should be desired to move to Ham, a house belonging to the Duchess of Lauderdale, near Richmond, in Surrey. In accordance with this resolution the Prince signed the following paper, which was ordered to be carried the next day to the King: — “ We desire you, the Lord Marquis

of Halifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamere, to tell the King that it is thought convenient, for the greater safety of his person, that he do remove to Ham, where he shall be attended by guards, who will be ready to preserve him from any disturbance." Immediately after, the Prince ordered the regiment of the guards, consisting of three battalions, to take possession of all the posts about Whitehall and St. James's. The king, being informed of it, sent for the Count de Solms, who commanded them, and desired him to let him have his own guard at Whitehall for that night only; but the Count alleging his order to relieve the posts, the King replied, "Do your office." In consequence, in the course of the night the Dutch guards took possession of all the posts about Whitehall, St. James's, and the Park. An hour after midnight the three lords appointed by the Prince came to Whitehall to demand an audience: the King ordered them to his bedside, when they delivered the Prince's message, desiring his Majesty to remove to Ham, to which he at first consented, but having again recalled them, he desired them to inform the Prince that he would rather go to Rochester. The Prince's compliance with that proposal arriving the next morning at eight, the King, accompanied by the Earls of Aylesbury, Lichfield, Arran, and Dumbarton, six of the yeomen of his own guard, and about a hundred Dutch commanded by one of their lieutenant-colonels, set out in a barge from Whitehall, arrived the same

evening at Gravesend, and the next day proceeded to Rochester.

The Prince arrived the same day at St. James's Palace, where he received the compliments of the nobility, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen of the city of London. From this time it may be said the King was a mere cipher; he was not, indeed, a prisoner, but he had no longer the means left of doing good or harm, and most of the lords who had any employment about the court laid down the insignia of office, conceiving they had no longer any right to exercise the same. During the rejoicings on account of the Prince's arrival, the Papists, not even excepting the ambassadors, were again insulted by the mob. As there was no settled government, such disorders were scarcely to be avoided: at last the privy council directed that all foreigners should be permitted quietly to leave the kingdom, the Prince sending particular passes to the Pope's nuncio, and the envoys from Poland, Savoy, and Modena.

Meanwhile, as it was absolutely necessary to put an end to the present anarchy, the Prince of Orange assembled the lords spiritual and temporal in London, to the number of about sixty, and made this short speech to them:—"My Lords, I have desired you to meet here in order to advise on the best manner to carry into effect the object of my declaration, in calling a free parliament for the preservation of the Protestant religion, for

restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and settling the same, that they may not be in danger of being again subverted." Having spoken these words he withdrew, leaving them to consult together. His declaration having been read, the lords voted him their particular thanks. They then resolved to assemble every day in their old house at Westminster, and named five of the most eminent lawyers to assist their consultations, in the room of the judges, who were most of them absent. These were, Sir John Maynard, Sergeants Holt, Pollexfen, Bradford, and Atkinson. It was farther proposed, that the whole assembly should sign the association subscribed by the nobility and gentry at Exeter: to this the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Pembroke and Nottingham, Lord Wharton, and all the bishops excepting London, alone dissented. The objection of the bishops was chiefly founded upon the unchristian word revenge, which was afterwards changed for that of punishment.

At this time the following address was presented to his Highness from the city of London, by George Treby the Recorder:—

“ May it please your Royal Highness,
 “ The Lord Mayor being disabled by sickness, your Highness is attended by the aldermen and commons of the capital city of this kingdom, deputed to congratulate your Highness upon this great and glorious occasion. Reviewing our late

danger, we call to mind our church and state overrun by popery and arbitrary power, and on the verge of destruction, by the conduct of men who were our real invaders, breaking through the sacred fences of our laws, and the very constitution of our legislature. The only person under heaven that could apply any remedy was your Highness. You are of a nation whose alliance in all times has been agreeable and prosperous to us; you are of a family rendered illustrious by its benefactions to mankind: to have enjoyed the titles of sovereign Prince and Stadtholder, and to have worn the imperial crown, are not their greatest honours; they have long possessed a dignity far more transcendant; that is, to be champions of Almighty God, sent forth in several ages to vindicate his cause against the greatest oppressions. To this Divine commission our nobles, our gentry, and, amongst them, our brave English soldiers, tender themselves and their arms upon your appearing.

“Your Highness, led by the hand of Heaven, and called by the voice of the nation, has preserved our dearest interest, the Protestant religion, which is primitive Christianity; restored those laws which are the best title to our lives, liberties, and estates, and without which the world were a wilderness. But what return can we make to your Highness? We are overwhelmed with gratitude: your Highness has a lasting monument on the hearts, in the prayers, in the praises, of all good men among us,

and posterity will celebrate your ever glorious name, till time shall be no more."

At the same time the high sheriff, nobility, and gentry of the county of Cambridge presented another address to his Highness, wherein they implored his protection and aid to rescue the nation from popery and slavery, and assured him they would contribute their utmost endeavours towards perfecting so glorious a work, returning him their unfeigned thanks for the progress he had made therein, at so much cost, labour, and hazard, both by sea and land.

Meanwhile the King continued at Rochester, in a melancholy situation. He could not but perceive that his flight had done him irreparable injury : the proceedings in London plainly showed that he was no longer looked upon as fit to be trusted with the government ; and it was not in his power to restore himself by force. The very name of a free parliament made him tremble ; for, putting aside the recollection of his past actions, which his conscience continually recalled, he clearly saw that the very least that parliament would do, must be to establish the Protestant religion upon a basis not to be shaken, and to curtail those prerogatives which he had hitherto enjoyed to the great injury both of the religion and laws of the realm. He felt convinced that, so long as he lived, he should ever be looked upon with distrust. Under such circumstances, it is scarcely matter of surprise that he should have

preferred retiring to France, where he might hope, by the assistance of Louis, to recover the station he had lost, to remaining in England, possessing merely the shadow of royalty, surrounded by every species of mortification, and where he could not, without great personal danger, attempt to recover his former authority. Whatever might have been his real motives, on the 23d of December, at three o'clock in the morning, accompanied by his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, Mr. Sheldon, and Labedie, he privately embarked on board a small frigate in the river, which conveyed them in safety to France. His departure was matter of considerable relief to the Prince of Orange. The King's presence in the nation could not but greatly embarrass him, more especially as he had promised the Princess that nothing should be attempted against the life or liberty of her father. On quitting Rochester, James left the following letter, written in his own hand: —

“ The world cannot wonder at my withdrawing myself this second time. I might have expected somewhat better usage after what I wrote to the Prince of Orange by my lord Feversham, and the instructions I gave him; but, instead of an answer such as I might have hoped for, what was I to expect after the usage I received, by the making the said earl prisoner, against the practice and laws of nations; the sending of his own guards, at eleven at night, to take possession of the posts at White-

hall, without advertising me in the least manner of it; the sending to me at one o'clock after midnight, when I was in bed, a kind of an order by three lords, to be gone out of mine own palace before twelve that morning? After all this, how could I hope to be safe so long as I was in the power of one who had not only done this to me, and invaded my kingdoms without any just occasion given him for it, but who did also, by his first declaration, lay the greatest aspersion upon me that malice could invent in that clause of it which concerns my son? I appeal to all who know me, nay, even to himself, whether in their consciences he or they can believe me in the least capable of so unnatural a villany, or of so little common sense? What had I then to expect from one who, by all arts, hath taken such pains to make me appear as black as hell to my own people, as well as to all the world besides? What effect that hath had at home, all mankind have seen, by so general a defection in my army, as well as in the nation among all sorts of people.

I was both free, and desire to continue so; and though I have ventured my life very frankly on several occasions, for the good and honour of my country, and am as free to do it again (and which I hope I yet shall do, old as I am, to redeem it from the slavery it is likely to fall under); and yet I think it unwise to incur any present danger, so as to become no longer able to effect such an object, and for that reason do withdraw,

but so as to be within call whensoever the nation's eyes shall be opened, to see how they have been abused and imposed upon by the specious pretences of religion and property. I hope it will please God to touch their hearts out of his infinite mercy, and to make them sensible of the ill condition they are in, and bring them to such a temper that a legal parliament may be called, and that, amongst other things which may be necessary to be done, they will agree to liberty of conscience for all Protestant dissenters ; and that those of my own persuasion may be so far considered, and have such a share of it, as they may live peaceably and quietly, as Englishmen and Christians ought to do, and not to be obliged to transplant themselves, which would be very grievous especially to such as love their own country. And I appeal to all men, who have had experience, whether any thing can make this nation so great and flourishing as liberty of conscience? Some of our neighbours dread it. I could add much more to confirm all I have said ; but now is not the proper time."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PEERS REQUEST THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO TAKE UPON HIMSELF THE DIRECTION OF AFFAIRS.—HE ASSEMBLES THE MEMBERS OF THE TWO LAST PARLIAMENTS OF CHARLES II.—THEY CONFIRM THE WISHES OF THE PEERS.—WILLIAM ATTENDS THE SERVICE AT THE CHAPEL ROYAL.—ASSOCIATION OF THE NOBILITY AT ST. JAMES'S.—WILLIAM ISSUES A PROCLAMATION AUTHORIZING ALL PROTESTANT PUBLIC OFFICERS TO CONTINUE IN THE DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTIES.—ARRIVAL OF SEVERAL SCOTCH NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN IN LONDON.—WILLIAM'S SPEECH TO THEM.—THEIR ADDRESS FROM THE COUNCIL CHAMBER AT WHITEHALL.—UNPROFITIOUS CONDITION OF IRELAND.—WILLIAM SUMMONS THE PRINCESS MARY TO ENGLAND.—MEETING OF THE CONVENTION.—THE PRINCE SENDS A LETTER TO THE TWO HOUSES.—THEIR ADDRESS, REQUESTING HIM TO UNDERTAKE THE ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS, CIVIL AND MILITARY.

WE are now arrived at the most unprecedented period of English history : the throne was, in fact, unoccupied, and there was no one either to represent the King or to form a government. There was, indeed, a king in name, a fugitive, indeed, but who had not formally renounced his rights ; still there no longer remained any constituted authorities to administer the laws, or to keep tumult in check : it was in vain to appeal to laws, customs, or precedents, because the present position was manifestly totally opposed to what any of the above would seem to point out.

As soon as the Lords were apprised of the King's departure, they believed themselves invested with a power to act in their own names. There was no

parliament in existence, and, consequently, no House of Commons to act in concert with them. By the death or desertion of the King, all public offices and employments necessarily cease; therefore there could remain no authority but that of the peers, who, as nearest the throne, were most authorised to take charge of the government till it could be settled by the nation in parliament. There was no example to serve for a precedent for the present state of things: the King had abandoned the nation of his own free will, and the only reason that could be assigned for his having done so, was his apprehension that a free parliament would have restored the constitution to its former state. The Prince of Orange pretended not to have any right to govern: to procure a free parliament was his only declared object; yet this parliament must be called by some authority; and by what authority could a parliament meet when no person was found to direct the government? Either, then, the Peers, on the desertion of the King, must take charge of the government, or anarchy prevail until he should think fit to resume the charge: in such a case, the alternative could admit of no question. Even supposing the power assumed by the Peers to be illegal in an ordinary sense, the present position of affairs was unprecedented, and anarchy could only be productive of irremedial mischief. Accordingly, the Peers resolved to address the Prince of Orange, requesting him to undertake the administration of public

affairs, both civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenue, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, the rights, laws, liberties, properties, and peace of the nation; to take into his particular care the present condition of Ireland; and to use speedy and effectual means to protect that kingdom from the danger which impended over it.

At the same time, these honourable lords further humbly requested, that his Highness would please to cause letters to be written, subscribed by himself and the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, to the several counties, universities, cities, and boroughs, &c., directed to the chief magistrates of each, within ten days after the receipt thereof, to choose such a number of persons to represent them as are of right to be sent to parliament. Both which addresses were presented to the Prince at St. James's, who answered, that he had considered their advice, that he would endeavour to secure the peace of the nation till the meeting of the convention in the ensuing 22d of January, and forthwith issue out letters to the said effect; that he would apply the public revenues to their proper use; and likewise endeavour to put Ireland into such a condition, as to ensure the Protestant religion and English interest being maintained in that kingdom; further assuring them, that, as he came hither for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, so he should always

be ready to expose himself to any hazard in defence of the same.

The above address invested the Prince with full authority as far as the Peers alone could effect it ; but it was necessary to strengthen this resolution of the Lords by the approbation of the Commons. He, therefore, assembled all those who had been members of the two last parliaments of Charles II. ; to these he added the Lord Mayor of London, the Court of Aldermen, and fifty delegates chosen from their own number of the Common Council. Having explained to them the main object of their being called together, he desired them to pursue the best course for preserving the Protestant religion, and restoring the rights and properties of the kingdom. They immediately repaired to the House of Commons ; and, having chosen Mr. Powle as their chairman, the first question they debated, was, What authority they had to assemble ? Upon which, it was speedily agreed that the request of the Prince was a sufficient authority. The next question was, How the Prince could take upon himself the administration of affairs without any title ? but it was thought proper to waive this question in their future debates, as tending to defeat the ends for which they were assembled. An address was resolved on, requesting the Prince to take upon himself the administration of affairs till the meeting of the convention, which was fixed for the 22d of January. The Prince returned to this an answer similar to the one he had given to the

Lords,—that he would endeavour, as far as he was able, to secure the peace of the nation, according to their desire.

The word convention, to signify a parliament assembled without the customary formalities, was new in England, where it had been but once used in that sense, namely, after the restoration of King Charles II. That prince finding, upon his return to England, a parliament sitting which had not been summoned by him, would not own it for a parliament, apprehending its possible consequences; but, on the other hand, he would not deprive himself of the benefit of the resolutions of the assembly, which had restored him to the throne of his ancestors: so, to reconcile these two things together, he was willing to own it as a convention. Probably, the word was borrowed from what is practised in Scotland, where a difference is put between a convention of the States, and a parliament; it was, therefore, this convention of the year 1660 that the Lords had in view, when they addressed the Prince of Orange to call one. But as this was a single precedent, and as the convention of the year 1660, had been first called under the name of a parliament, the Prince thought that, besides the suffrages of the Peers, it was proper to be authorised by others, which might pass for those of the people.

On Sunday, the 30th of December, the Prince of Orange attended the Royal Chapel at St. James's, where the sermon was preached by Dr.

Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; after which he received the sacrament from the Bishop of London. This public profession of the established religion at once dispelled the fears of those who dreaded his adhering to the Presbyterian tenets, in which he had been brought up. Soon after, the following association, which had been signed by the gentry of several counties, was also subscribed by many noblemen and others at St. James's.

“ We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, who have joined with the Prince of Orange, for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for maintaining the ancient government, and the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and to one another, to stick firm to this cause, and to one another in defence of it, and never to depart from it till our religion, our laws, and liberties, are so far secured to us in a free parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling under popery and slavery; and whereas we are engaged in this common cause, under the protection of the Prince of Orange, by which means his person may be exposed to dangers and to the desperate and cursed attempts of the papists, and other bloody men; we do therefore solemnly engage, both to God, and to one another, that, if any such attempts are made upon him, we will pursue not only those that make them, but all their adherents, and all that we find in arms against us, with the utmost severities of a just

revenge, to their ruin and final destruction; and that the execution of any such attempt (which God of his mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this cause, which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the vigour that so barbarous a practice shall deserve.

On the 31st of December, the Prince published a proclamation, authorising all public officers, not being papists, to act in their respective offices until the meeting of the convention. The same day he paid a visit to the Queen Dowager, and, at her request, released the Earl of Feversham from custody. At this time all papists were commanded to depart, within three days, out of London and Westminster, and forbidden to come within ten miles of the same; and a still more decisive measure adopted in the order sent to Barillon, the French ambassador, to leave the kingdom within twenty-four hours.

Affairs being now somewhat in the course of arrangement with respect to England, it is necessary to take a review of the state of Scotland, whither his Highness had sent nearly a similar declaration to the one circulated in England previous to his arrival. This gave encouragement to the Presbyterians, and although the Scotch bishops had declared their abhorrence of the Prince's undertaking, such sentiments by no means pervaded their flock. The Episcopalians had reason to fear that they, as well as the Presbyterians, would fall a sacrifice to

the King's obvious partiality for the papists. On the news of King James's retreat, the Lord Chancellor resigned the great seal, when the populace of Edinburgh insulted, not only the Roman Catholics, but also those connected with the Episcopal party; in consequence of which, the bishops were compelled to withdraw. In the meantime, several Scotch noblemen and gentlemen repaired to London, in order to regulate their conduct by what was passing there.

The Prince of Orange, unable to visit Scotland, summoned all the Scotch nobility and gentry then in London, to meet him at St. James's on the 7th of January, 1689, to whom he made the following speech:—

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The only reason that induced me to undergo so great an undertaking, was, that I saw the laws and liberties of these kingdoms overturned, and the Protestant religion in imminent danger; and seeing you are so many noblemen and gentlemen, I have called you together, that I may have your advice what is to be done for the securing of the Protestant religion, and restoring your laws and liberties, according to my declaration.”

The lords and gentlemen then proceeding to the council chamber at Whitehall, and, choosing the Duke of Hamilton for their president, drew up an address, rendering his Highness their thanks, and

desiring him to undertake the administration of affairs, civil and military, in Scotland, till the general meeting of the estates, which they humbly prayed him to call, so as to be held at Edinburgh by the 14th of March following. This address was signed by thirty lords and eighty gentlemen.

The prospect of things in Ireland was not so satisfactory. The Earl of Tyrconnel, a zealous papist, was lord-lieutenant, and supported by an army which he had taken care to compose chiefly of popish officers and soldiers; there was, therefore, cause to apprehend that he would not submit to the resolutions taken in England. Upon the flight of the King into France, he had called the popish council together, and informed them that the time was come when it would behove them to stand up in defence of their country and religion, and that, for his own part, even if the King called upon him to sheath his sword, he should feel himself bound to refuse obedience. At such a juncture, the consequence of this declaration was a general association of the papists against the Protestant nobility and gentry; who, although they made some head in the north, and fortified Londonderry, Sligo, and such places as were considered tenable, were unequal in numbers to the Roman Catholics: they, therefore, sent over addresses to the Prince of Orange, who, anxious to lend them assistance, summoned Tyrconnel, by letter, to submit to the present established government in England. The delivery of the letter was con-

signed to Colonel Hamilton, who promised to second its object to the utmost of his power; but he was afterwards discovered to have been throughout linked with, and in the interests of, Tyrconnel.

The Prince lost no time in ordering the forces disbanded by the Earl of Feversham to reassemble; he then discharged the arrears due to the troops, by means of a sum of money advanced by the city of London. Several officers having resigned their commissions on account of the oath that was now exacted, he filled their places with Protestants, and took every care so to regulate the army as to render it serviceable to the state. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who had hitherto abstained from waiting on the Prince, at last, together with eight bishops, signed the association, certain expressions in it which had at first given them umbrage, being somewhat softened; about the same time, ninety dissenting ministers addressed the Prince, assuring him of their fervent prayers for the preservation of his person, and the success of his endeavours; to which his Highness returned a gracious answer, expressed in general terms.

In the mean time the election for members of the convention proceeded rapidly. Electors gave their votes unbiassed, and according to their own inclination: all regiments were ordered to remove from any places about to choose their members, so as to take away even the appearance of improper influence or compulsion. The Prince, considering that

the convention would be assembled for the purpose of settling the government, thought it advisable to summon the Princess Mary to England; as, in case that assembly should declare the throne vacant, no one could exhibit greater pretensions to the succession.

The convention assembled on the 22d of January, 1689: the Peers chose George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, for their speaker; the Commons, Mr. Henry Powle: to each was read the following letter from the Prince of Orange, on the occasion of their meeting:—

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have endeavoured, to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the public peace and safety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to the preservation of them, since the administration of affairs was put into my hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the foundations of a firm security for your religion, your laws, and your liberties. I do not doubt but that by such a full and free representative of the nation as is now met the ends of my declaration will be attained. And since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great success, I trust in him that he will complete his own work, by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence your counsels, that no interruption may be given to a happy and lasting settlement.

“ The dangerous condition of the Protestants in Ireland requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unseasonable divisions amongst ourselves, nothing can be so fatal as too great delay in your consultations. The States, by whom I have been enabled to rescue this nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their troops which are now here, and of your ready assistance against a powerful enemy who hath declared war against them. And as England is by treaty already engaged to help them upon such exigences, so I am confident that their cheerful concurrence to preserve this kingdom with so much hazard to themselves will meet with all the returns of friendship and assistance which may be expected from you as Protestants and Englishmen, whenever their condition shall require it.”

After the reading of this letter, the Speaker of the House of Commons represented to that assembly the dangerous state of the nation, the fatal consequences of anarchy, and the deplorable condition of the Protestants in Ireland. He finally alluded to the unbounded ambition of Louis XIV., and earnestly dwelt on the necessity not only of putting the kingdom into a posture of defence, but of making a powerful diversion in case that aspiring monarch should elsewhere pursue those de-

signs which must destroy the equilibrium of Europe. This speech was received with universal approbation, and a motion was made, that a day of public thanksgiving should be appointed throughout the country, and the following address was voted to his Highness, in which the Lords unanimously concurred: —

“ We, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, being highly sensible of the great deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, and that our preservation is, next under God, owing to your Highness, do return our most humble thanks and acknowledgments to your Highness, as the glorious instrument of so great a blessing. We do further acknowledge the great care your Highness has been pleased to take in the administration of the public affairs of the kingdom to this time; and we do most humbly desire your Highness that you will take upon you the conduct of affairs, both civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenue, for the preservation of our religion, rights, laws, liberties, and properties, and the peace of the nation; and that your Highness will take into your particular care the present state of Ireland, and endeavour by the most speedy and effectual means to remove the dangers which threaten that kingdom. All which we make our request to your Highness to undertake and execute, till further application shall be made by us, which shall be ex-

pedited with all convenient speed. And we shall also use our utmost endeavours to give despatch to the matters recommended to us in your Highness's letter."

The Prince the next day returned the following answer : —

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I am glad that what I have done has pleased you. And since you desire me to continue the administration of affairs, I am willing to accept the same. I must recommend to you the consideration of affairs abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your business ; not only for making a settlement at home upon a good foundation, but for the safety of all Europe."

The House of Commons, upon this, appointed the 28th of January to take into consideration the present state of the nation, in order to give full time to all their members to arrive in London. — The peers did not discontinue their sittings.

We are now arrived at a period unexampled in English history, when the two houses of parliament were about to enter into the merits of a question upon which the opinions of the soundest and best disposed men both among the clergy and laity will be found to differ ; and however much they might all have the same end in view, were nevertheless

conscientiously at variance as to the best means consistent with the laws of the land and their oaths of allegiance of bringing it to pass. The case of James II. could be put in comparison with no one of his predecessors ; independent of those relating to Edward II. and Richard II., being of a date too remote to be now referred to, there existed, in both those instances no idea of interfering with the hereditary succession ; and the asserted object of the long and bloody civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster was to establish the succession in that branch which their respective parties considered best entitled to it by direct descent. The case of Charles I. was, if possible, more inapplicable, because the church and high Tory party were those who, on the ground of legitimate right, exhausted their revenues, and shed their best blood in his cause : it would, therefore, seem not alone an inconsistency, but an absolute dereliction of principle in that party, now to declare the throne vacant. Admitting the incapacity of the reigning monarch ; admitting the fact of his having endeavoured to dispense with the laws, and overthrow the established religion which he was solemnly bound to uphold ; admitting, moreover, that, as a constitutional king, he could not apply to his own case the maxims of a despot ; however reasonably and justly the consequences of such glaring violations of every tie which bind his people in their allegiance might, and ought to, have fallen on his own head, there still presents itself the fearful and difficult

question, could they set aside or affect the claim of the natural heir? It may truly be said that at no period in this country did hereditary monarchy stand in greater danger: in declaring the throne vacant, the first question that would arise must be, by whom then were the kingly duties to be administered? And by choosing a sovereign apart from the immediate line of succession, it would almost appear impossible not to render the monarchy elective. Never were the people and parliament of England placed in a position more delicate and difficult; prejudices the most deep rooted were to be surmounted, whichever course they might adopt; on one side attachment to the Protestant doctrines and abhorrence of popery were to be balanced by the undefined, yet critical, point of hereditary and divine right of kings, backed, too, by that doctrine ever set forth in all constitutional governments, that the King, although possessing a negative voice, is responsible for his acts only in the persons of his ministers or advisers. The singular course adopted by James II. in flying, as it were, from his people, and leaving the nation subject to all the consequences of anarchy and confusion, might, to a certain extent, render it imperative on the Parliament to make a tender of the crown in another quarter; but even then legal difficulties present themselves, not easy to be overcome; and had not so many coincidences providentially occurred to render the final settle-

ment of the succession satisfactory to the nation at large, it is, perhaps, fearful to contemplate what might have been the future destiny of England. It ought never to be forgotten that, besides throwing *himself* on the protection of France, James had, fortunately, perhaps, for the cause of Protestantism, not even left the next heir to the crown in the hands of the nation : the very fact of the Queen having previously conveyed the infant Prince to a country where he would be educated in principles, both religious and political, opposed to the feelings of the people and church of England, unquestionably speaks volumes in favour of the argument, that a case was established in which it was consistent for the Parliament to declare the throne vacant, and make a tender of the crown to the Prince of Orange, without abrogating from that principle of hereditary monarchy which, so long as the sovereign upholds the religion and laws of the land, both in his own person and that of his heirs, is the mainspring upon which our best interests are founded. Lastly, it must be allowed to have been a crisis without example, at which the wisest and most experienced may naturally have been staggered ; and whether the views they adopted were correct or erroneous, whether they were consistent with the extraordinary circumstances of the period, or the reverse, it is impossible sufficiently to admire the manly courage, the strength of mind, and the disinterested honesty of purpose which in-

duced so many excellent and eminent men in the discharge of what they believed their duty, in the first instance, as Protestant churchmen, and in the second, as the champions of the rights and privileges of monarchy, to forsake every worldly aggrandizement, and abandon all earthly prospects.

CHAPTER XV.

RECEPTION OF JAMES AT ST. GERMAIN.—REMARK OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS.—JAMES SENDS A LETTER TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL AND THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—THEY ARE RETURNED UNOPENED.—THE HOUSE OF COMMONS DECLARE THE THRONE VACANT.—THE LORDS DECIDE IN FAVOUR OF A KING OVER A REGENCY BY A SMALL MAJORITY.—A BILL EXCLUDING ROMAN CATHOLICS FROM THE SUCCESSION PASSES BOTH HOUSES.—THE LORDS PROPOSE A CLAUSE TO PREVENT THE SOVEREIGN FROM MARRYING A PAPIST.—AMENDMENTS OF THE LORDS ON THE VOTE PASSED BY THE COMMONS.—REASONS ASSIGNED BY THE COMMONS FOR REFUSING TO SANCTION THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.—A FREE CONFERENCE DEMANDED WITH THE LORDS.—MEETING IN THE PAINTED CHAMBER.—LENGTHENED DEBATES ON THE QUESTION BETWEEN THE WORDS *ABDICATED* AND *DESERTEED*, AND THE VACANCY OF THE THRONE.

IN the mean time James II. had found an asylum in the palace of St. Germain, and a powerful ally in Louis XIV. ; but had he expected to have been looked upon with admiration, as a martyr in the cause of popery, his ambition was destined to experience a mortifying disappointment. The obsequious courtiers of the French monarch viewed the exiled sovereign of England with no other feelings but those of pity and contempt ; even the very dignitaries of the Romish church did not evince much satisfaction at such a proselyte. “Voilà un bon homme, qui a quitté trois royaumes pour une messe,” was the pithy and well-applied observation of the Archbishop of Rheims, brother

to the celebrated Louvois, uttered within hearing of all the attendants, immediately on quitting his presence; a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, how contemptible he had rendered himself, even in the eyes of those whom policy induced to support his cause. Fully aware of the prejudice his abandonment of the throne had caused to his interests, he endeavoured to obviate it by means of a letter addressed to the Privy Council: he repeated the reasons assigned at Rochester for his departure; declared his intention to return to England for the purpose of holding a free parliament; was sufficiently ill advised, or infatuated, as to accuse the Prince of Orange of having practised artifices in order to prevent his calling one; and, finally, requested their advice as to the course most proper to be adopted with regard to his return. Such a letter, although printed, and dispersed, could obtain little regard: even those to whom it was addressed did not conceive it proper to return any answer, the convention being at that time sitting. A letter to the same effect was therefore sent to both houses of Parliament, adding a promise of pardon (some few only excepted) to all who had betrayed him, and an act of oblivion as to the past; but this was returned by both houses unopened.

The House of Commons met, according to appointment, on the 28th of January; when the debate was opened by Mr. Dolben, who made a long speech, tending to prove that the throne of

England was vacant, King James II., both by the violation of the laws, and his voluntary desertion of the kingdom, having forfeited his right, and abdicated the government. To this a smart reply was made by Mr. Finch ; when Sir Richard Temple enquired if the throne was not vacant, what need could there be of calling a convention ? A debate of four or five hours ensued, at the conclusion of which the House came to the following memorable resolution — perhaps the most remarkable in all the annals of England : —

“ Resolved, — That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt king and people ; and, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and the throne is thereby vacant.”

The party who were for inviting King James to return did not find themselves sufficiently strong to divide the House ; but they protested in strong terms against the vacancy of the throne, and urged many arguments in favour of a regency. Among these were Mr. Finch, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and Sir Edward Seymour, who had promoted the association at Exeter. The following day they voted that the thanks of the House should be given to the clergy of England, who had refused to read

in their churches the King's declaration for toleration, and also to the officers and soldiers, for having testified their ready adherence to the Protestant cause.

In the House of Lords the matter did not pass with so much unanimity. On the 29th of January the Lords began to consider the vote passed by the House of Commons. The first motion was, not to agree that the throne was vacant, but to leave that point to be afterwards considered, and to determine, first, whether, the throne being vacant, it ought to be filled up by a regent, or a king? This question was warmly debated; and Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, made a long and able speech, alleging several arguments in favour of a regency. He particularly insisted upon what had lately passed in Portugal, where Alphonzo VI. being deposed, his brother, Don Pedro, had only the title of regent conferred on him so long as the deposed monarch was alive. The speech of Lord Nottingham carried with it considerable weight; and, had not the Marquis of Halifax and the Earl of Danby demonstrated, on the other side, the insuperable difficulties attending the administration of the government under a regent, a majority in favour of that course would have been the consequence. After a very long debate, it was carried in favour of a King against the regency by fifty-one against forty-nine. Thirteen bishops voted in the minority, and two only, Compton bishop of London, and Trelawney Bishop of Bristol, in the majority.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was absent from indisposition: the Earls of Huntingdon and Mulgrave would not appear, out of personal attachment to King James; and Lord Churchill avoided giving his vote on so critical a question, being unwilling either to offend the Prince of Orange or the Princess of Denmark.

The bishops, who had so long maintained the doctrine of passive obedience or non-resistance, as well as that the regal power is *jure divino*, found themselves in a very difficult position. They were not sensible of the extravagance of such maxims till the Protestant religion was in danger; they omitted to add that provision so essential to a constitutional monarchy, "so long as the King enjoins things according to law," which would have rendered their principle as reasonable as it would have been beyond dispute. The object of the church being gained by the suppression of the Catholic party, for the sake of appearing to swerve as little as possible from their long declared opinions, the bishops were inclined to favour a regency; they were satisfied that James had violated the laws, and no longer deserved to be trusted with the government of the kingdom: and although there can be little essential difference between a King actually deposed, and one who is a fugitive from his country, and whose authority is exercised by a regent not of his own choosing, they yet conceived that, by preserving to him the mere empty title of Monarch, they remained true

and steady to those doctrines which had so long formed an inherent part of their creed.

Whilst they were debating this preliminary question in the Lords, the Commons passed a vote, declaring that popery was inconsistent with the English constitution, and excluding for ever all Roman Catholics from the succession to the crown of England. To this the House of Peers gave their assent, and proposed to add a clause, that no King of England should marry a Roman Catholic.

The next day the question was put in the House of Lords, as to the existence of any original contract between the King and the people. That in a constitutional government there should have existed a dissentient voice on such a point seems extraordinary; because, unless answered in the affirmative, the legislative power of the Parliament must become nugatory, and the monarch called upon to govern only according to his individual will and pleasure. Obvious, however, as the case must appear, it is remarkable that an affirmative decision was come to only by a majority of seven, fifty-three to forty-six. On the 31st they took into consideration the word *abdicated*, and came to a conclusion, that *deserted* was more applicable. They next examined the word *vacant*, and put this question, Whether King James, having broke that original contract with his people, and deserted the government, the throne was there by vacant? This point was debated with greater warmth than any of the former; and the high

church party urging that maxim in our law, that the King never dies, and, therefore, the throne cannot be declared vacant, it was decided in the negative by a majority of eleven. Against this decision, the Marquisses of Halifax and Winchester, the Earls of Danby and Devonshire, with several others, entered their protest. As this vote was founded on the fact of the crown's devolving, in case of the King's death, on the next heir, a motion was made that, as the King was civilly defunct, the Prince and Princess of Orange should be placed on the throne. This also was negatived by a majority of five.

When we look at these several resolutions, it would almost appear that the Lords were disposed to render a settlement of the government out of the question. In the first place, by a rejection of a regency, the vacancy of the throne was declared; secondly, while it was determined that the throne was not vacant, it was at the same time agreed that James had violated the original contract with the people, and deserted the government. Although they voted that the King never dies, and that in case of his death, natural or civil, the crown devolves on the next heir, still they refused to acknowledge the Princess of Orange as Queen. The only course, then, that remained was to recognise for King the Prince of Wales, who had been conveyed into France, who was by many believed to be supposititious, and would, doubtless, be educated in popish principles;

moreover, the Commons had passed a resolution, in which the Lords had concurred, that it was inconsistent with the interest of a Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Roman Catholic sovereign. In short, the resolutions of the House of Lords appeared nothing but a series of contradictions. James had either been proved unfit to be trusted with the reins of government, or the reverse. Admitting the former assertion, who, then, in the event of his natural or civil demise, was legally next in succession? It had been voted, that England must not be governed by a Roman Catholic. Whether the Prince of Wales was supposititious or otherwise, was not now the pending question. Had he still remained in the hands of the nation, it would have been difficult to assign a cause sufficiently plausible for depriving him of the succession; and in such a case, where a regency would have been able to have insured his being educated in the Protestant faith, it seems clear that William could only, according to the maxims of justice, have occupied the throne in the character of an usurper; but in the present instance, when the Prince of Wales was placed in a foreign land, where he was sure to receive such an education as would be most opposed to the national feeling, it was scarcely to be imagined that his religious views could be any but those prescribed by the church of Rome. Coming, then, as he would, within the powers of the act recently passed by the two Houses, the crown must of

necessity devolve to the next in succession who professed the Protestant creed. To common reason it must be obvious, if any regard was to be paid to hereditary right, that the claim of the Princess of Orange could not be passed over in the event of the infant Prince of Wales being declared, in consequence of his being about to receive a popish education, ineligible. There appears, then, a degree of inconsistency and contradiction in the resolution voted by the Lords, which it is not easy to define.

Meanwhile, a petition was set on foot, addressed to the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in the grand convention, importing, That in a deep sense of the danger of delays and perplexed debates about settling the government, at this time vacant, by reason whereof the necessary ends of government could not be duly administered, it was humbly desired, that his most illustrious Highness the Prince of Orange, and his royal consort the Princess, might be speedily settled on the throne, by whose courage, conduct, and reputation, this nation and the Protestant religion might be defended from their enemies at home and abroad; and that Ireland, now in a bleeding and deplorable condition, might be rescued from its miseries, and these kingdoms settled on a lasting foundation in peace and liberty.

The Prince, informed that the authors of this petition were endeavouring to procure signatures from the multitude promiscuously, and sensible of the

evil consequences likely to arise from such a mode of proceeding, directed the lord mayor to command its immediate suppression.

On the 2d of February the Lords sent a message to the Commons, informing them that they had considered their vote of the 28th of January, to which they assented with two amendments; first, that the word "deserted" should be substituted for "abdicated;" and that the words declaring the throne vacant should be left out. The Commons having considered these amendments, it was carried by a great majority that a committee should be appointed to draw up reasons why they could not concur with their Lordships, which were as follows:— "That to the first amendment the Commons did not agree, because the word 'deserted' did not fully express the conclusion necessarily inferred from the premises, which their Lordships had agreed to, viz. that King James II. had endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and had violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom. That the word 'deserted' respected only the withdrawing, but the word 'abdicated' respected the whole, for which purpose the Commons made choice of it. That the Commons could not agree to the second amendment, to leave out the words 'and that the throne is thereby vacant;' 1st, Because they conceived that, as they might well infer from so much of their own vote as their Lordships

had agreed unto, that King James II. had abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant; so that if the Commons should admit their Lordships' amendment, that he had only deserted the government, yet even thence it would follow, that the throne is vacant as to King James II.; deserting the government being, in true construction, deserting the throne. 2dly, That the Commons conceived they needed not prove to their Lordships, that, as to any other person, the throne was also vacant; their Lordships, as the Commons conceived, having already admitted it, by their addressing the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of public affairs, &c., and by appointing days of public thanksgiving to be observed throughout the whole country, all which the Commons deemed to imply, that it was their Lordships' opinion that the throne was vacant, and to signify so much to the people of this kingdom. 3dly, That it is from those who are upon the throne (when there are any such) that the people of England ought to receive protection, and to whom, for that cause, they owe the allegiance of subjects; for the above reasons, therefore, the Commons conceived the throne to be vacant."

The next day Mr. Hamden reported, from the conference with the Lords, that the Earl of Nottingham had spoken to this effect:—That the Lords had desired this conference, that they might be as happily united to the Commons in opinion

as they were inseparable in interest; and that they were at this time uneasy, that they could not concur with the Commons in every thing, because it was of so great a concern to the nation in the care of so great and wise a body. That the Lords did insist on the first amendment, because they did not find that the word "abdicated" was a word known to the common law of England; and because, in the most common acceptation of the civil law, abdicated was a voluntary express act of renunciation, which was not the case in this instance; and it did not follow from the premises, that King James II., by having withdrawn himself, after having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the government, by breaking the original contract between king and people, might be more properly said to have abdicated than deserted. That the Lords also insisted on the second amendment; for although their Lordships had agreed, that the King had deserted the government, and, therefore, had made application to the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of affairs, yet there could be no other inference drawn from hence, but that the exercise of the government by King James II. was superseded, and the Lords were willing to secure the nation against the return of the said King into the kingdom; but not that here was either such an abdication by him, or such a vacancy in the throne, as that the crown was therefore become elective, which they could not agree to; 1st, Because, by

the constitution of the government, the monarchy is hereditary, and not elective. 2dly, No act of the King can bar or destroy the right of his heirs to the crown ; and the answer to the third reason alleged by the House of Commons was, if the throne be vacant of King James II., allegiance was due to such person as the right of succession did belong to.

On the question being put, whether the Commons should concur with the Lords, their first amendment was unanimously negatived ; the second, after a warm debate, was also rejected by 282 against 151. Upon this Mr. Dolben was directed to desire a free conference with the Lords, and the following twenty-three persons were nominated on the part of the Commons ; viz. Sir Robert Howard, Mr. Pollexfen, Mr. Paul Foley, Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Holt, Lord Faulkland, Sir George Treby, Mr. Sommers, Mr. Garraway, Mr. Boscowen, Sir Thomas Littleton, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Hamden, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Thomas Lee, Mr. Sacheveril, Major Wildman, Colonel Birch, Mr. Ayres, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Henry Goodriche, Mr. Waller, and Sir John Guise : the Lords appointed, on their side, the Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester, Pembroke, the Bishop of Ely, and some others.

The deputies of both Houses being met in the Painted Chamber, Mr. Hamden opened the conference by saying, that the Commons were anxious to make it appear that they had sufficient reason

for adhering to their vote : it was a matter of the greatest importance to the kingdom at large, as well as the Protestant interest, that the question now under debate should come to a satisfactory issue. The word "abdicated" had a more extended signification than the word "deserted;" but it was not inapplicable to those points touched upon in the original vote of the Commons, and that it ought not to be restrained to a voluntary resignation, there being overt acts that would be sufficient to bear upon it ; the common law of England being unacquainted with the word, was owing to its unwillingness to suppose there could be any occasion for making use of it. With regard to their second amendment, respecting the vacancy of the throne, they could not conceive its consequences would be to make the crown of England become elective. If the throne had been occupied, the Lords would have assigned a reason for the disagreement, by telling the Commons who filled it, it would be known by some public royal act, which might notify to the people in whom the kingly government resided. Neither of these had been done, and yet their Lordships would not allow the throne to be vacant.

Mr. Sommers next followed, and maintained that the word "deserted" was as little specified in the common law of England as the word "abdicated." He urged that the words had both a known signification, although their meaning was not the same: abdicate properly signified entirely to re-

nounce, throw off, disown, relinquish any thing or person, so as to have no further to do with it; and that, whether it be done by express words, or in writing, (which was the sense the Lords had put upon it, and which was properly called resignation, or cession,) or by doing such acts as are inconsistent with the holding or retaining of the thing, which the Commons took to be the present case, and therefore made choice of the word "abdicate," as that which they thought did, above all others, most properly express that meaning. The word "deserted" had not only a very doubtful meaning, but in the common acceptance, both of the civil and canon law, it signified only a withdrawing, a temporary quitting, or neglect, which leave the party a liberty of returning again. He observed, that in the canon law to desert a benefice signified no more than to be non-resident; in the civil law, it was applicable to soldiers leaving their colours: in both these cases the party not only had a right, but was bound to return again, which the Commons did not conceive to be applicable to the present instance. Neither could the Lords, according to what had been expressed in defence of their last amendment, that they were willing to secure the nation against the return of King James, which they could not do so long as they merely looked upon it as a withdrawal, leaving the party at liberty to return. The Commons could not agree to the first amendment, because the word "deserted" did not come up in any way to the real

sense of the thing, nor did it even express their Lordships' meaning; whereas the word "abdicated" was applicable to that part of the vote agreed on by their Lordships, that King James II., by going about to subvert the constitution, &c., had thereby renounced to be a king, according to the constitution, by avowing to govern by a despotic power unknown to that constitution, and inconsistent with it; that he renounced being a king according to law, such a king as he swore to be at his coronation; such a king to whom the allegiance of an Englishman is due, and had set up another kind of dominion, which was to all intents an abdication, or abandoning his legal title as fully as if it had been done by express words.

The Earl of Nottingham, on the side of the Lords, said, that the main reason of the change of the word "abdicate" was upon account of the consequence drawn in the conclusion of the vote of the Commons, that the throne is thereby vacant; by which expression the Commons seemed to mean, that the throne was so vacant as to null the succession in the hereditary line, and thus all the heirs to be cut off, which the Lords said would make the crown elective; and, therefore, that it was fit to settle first what the consequence of the throne being vacant meant.

Serjeant Maynard replied, That when there is a present defect of the one to exercise the administration of the government, the declaring of a vacancy, and provision of a supply for it, could never

make the crown elective. That the Commons apprehended there was such a defect, and, in consequence, a present necessity for supply of the government. That the constitution, notwithstanding the vacancy, was the same; that the laws, that are the foundations and rules of that constitution, were the same; but if there was, in any particular instance, a breach of that constitution, that would be an abdication, and that abdication would infer a vacancy; not that the Commons did say, that the crown of England is always and perpetually elective, but only that it was necessary that there be a supply when there is a defect, and that the doing of that would be no alteration of the monarchy from a successive one to an elective.

The Bishop of Ely argued, that the word "abdicated" went beyond the present case. He admitted that it was inconsistent with the laws, liberties, and religion, to have a papist to rule over the kingdom; and, therefore, considered this a moral incapacity applicable to the individual peculiarly affected by it, and it was unquestionably necessary to make a provision in a case of the kind. There might be two sorts of abdications; one, that might forfeit the kingly power only, and another, that might forfeit both it and the crown: the former would be the result of incapacity, the latter of a breach of the laws. He quoted the instance of Alphonso VI., King of Portugal, which evidently seemed to argue in favour of the direct line with an intermediate regency. He concluded

by observing, that the full meaning of their vote ought to be the setting aside the person who broke the contract, as abdication in an hereditary monarchy can only apply to the person himself. He hoped the Lords and Commons would agree not to break the line of succession so as to make the crown elective.

The Earl of Clarendon did not deny that the King was bound to govern according to law ; but that this obligation did not proceed from his coronation oath, there being a natural allegiance due to him from his subjects immediately on his accession ; and if the abdication extended no further than to the person of James himself, there could be no vacancy, as the crown would devolve on whoever was next in succession.

Lord Nottingham observed, that the Lords were willing to concur with the Commons in securing the nation against the return of King James ; but neither the words abdicated or deserted could here be applicable, therefore some proper term should be fixed upon. The Lords apprehended other inferences might be drawn from the word abdicated than the laws would warrant ; therefore he considered it would shorten the present debate, first to decide the question respecting the throne being vacant, and, that point being settled, the proper term to be used could more easily be fixed upon.

Sir George Treby endeavoured to prove, that James had actually abdicated the kingdom, alleging

the authority of Grotius, who says, " That if there be any word or action that doth sufficiently manifest the intention of the mind and will, to part with his office, that will amount to an abdication, or renouncing." He would suppose King James coming into the assembly of Lords and Commons, and expressing himself to the following purpose: — " I was born an heir to the crown of England, which is a government limited by laws made in full Parliament, by king, nobles, and commonalty; upon the death of my last predecessor I came into possession of the throne, and now I find I cannot make laws without the consent of the Lords and representatives of the Commons in Parliament. I cannot suspend laws that have been so made without the consent of my people; this, indeed, is the title of kingship I hold by original contract, and the fundamental constitutions of the government; my succession to, and possession of, the crown on these terms is part of that contract: this part of the contract I am weary of, I do renounce it, I will not be obliged to observe it; nay, I am under an obligation not to comply with it; I will not execute the laws that have been made, nor suffer others to be made, as my people shall desire, for their security in religion, liberty, and property, which are the two main parts of the kingly office in this nation." Supposing him so to have expressed himself, this would have been clearly renouncing that title which came to him by descent;

and if, by particular acts, he has declared so much, or more than such words can amount to, it must be obvious that the word "abdicated" does most fully correspond to the facts of the case.

Lord Nottingham would not enter into the question, whether a king of England might or might not renounce the kingdom; but he considered there was a difference between saying and doing that which was inconsistent with the laws. If every transgression by the Prince's connivance or command were such a breach of the fundamental laws as would infer an abdication, then it were in vain to call any of his ministers to account for such an action; the act would be the King's, not theirs, and then adieu to the maxim of a king doing no wrong.

Sir George Treby replied, that when the King broke the law in some particular instances, it might be sufficient to call to account those evil counsellors who had been instrumental to the act. In ordinary cases, remedy was to be obtained by a regular course of proceeding, but, in the present case, an ordinary violation of the law could not be said to have occurred. Extraordinary diseases called for similar modes of cure, and where could redress be found, if the guilty party was to become the judge in his own cause? It was because the King had violated the constitution, that the Commons asserted he had abdicated, and renounced the government; for all other breaches of the law the subject may obtain redress in the ordinary

courts of justice, but where such an attempt as the one in question had been made on the essence of the constitution, they were warranted in adopting that course most suited to meet the extraordinary difficulties of their position.

Here the Lords having ceased to offer any further objection to the word "abdicated," Mr. Sacheverel, on the part of the Commons, opened the debate respecting the second amendment. As regarded the vacancy of the throne, he contended that the Commons, in using the words abdication and vacancy, never had intended to render the kingdom elective. They could not agree to the amendment proposed by the Lords, because even then it would follow that the throne was vacant as regarded James II. Deserting the government was a desertion of the throne : if King James II., who has only given up the exercise of power, still continues *bonâ fide* King, all the acts passed in the convention are illegal ; the nation would be drawn, therefore, into a perplexity from which they had no power to remove.

Mr. Pollexfen followed, by saying, that the word "deserted," proposed by the Lords, could signify nothing short of a vacancy, the King's power, and the exercise of it, being, in point of law, one and the same. It was as unlawful to take from the King the exercise of the government as to depose him ; and yet the Lords, by the course they would adopt, were actually rendering themselves guilty of such a crime. The Commons could not admit

that the King should be deprived of the exercise of the government, any more than that the crown should be taken from him ; but they contended that he had given it away by abdication. If James was still their King, they could not consent to his being kept out of the country ; if he was their lawful sovereign, God forbid that he should be debarred the exercise of government : to appoint a regency while the right of governing was acknowledged to be in James, would be as impracticable as it would be absurd. The Commons contended that he had forfeited all right to the crown, by violating those laws a King of England was bound to uphold ; and denied that such a vote could in any shape evince their intention of making the crown elective.

Lord Clarendon would not declare any opinion about the vacancy, as regarded James, but desired to know how far the Commons understood that vacancy to extend ? On Mr. Pollexfen asking whether their Lordships did agree that the throne was vacant as to King James II., and adding, that if they would say by whom, in such a case, they considered it ought to be filled, the Commons would then be prepared with an answer ; the Earl replied, that supposing, for the sake of argument, the throne to be vacant as regarded James, it ought then to be filled by whoever would be next in succession in case of his death, the government being an hereditary monarchy. The Lords asserted there was no vacancy ; but since the Com-

mons were of a contrary opinion, it might well be asked by whom was such vacancy to be filled up?

Serjeant Maynard remarked, that this question would come properly before them when that respecting the vacancy should be decided: nobody could be King James's heir while he was living.

The Earl of Pembroke contended, that Lord Clarendon had settled that point, by stating that it should go to the next in line, as if the King were dead. In this case the King would be dead in law, by abdication or desertion. To answer the question of the Commons, as to who would fill the throne, it was sufficient to know that there were heirs, though they did not, or could not, positively name the particular person.

The Earl of Nottingham contended, that if the King was civilly dead, the next in succession ought to take his place. He knew no distinction as regarded succession, whether the death was a natural or a civil one; if the next heir should be set aside, and another placed on the throne, he wished to know whether the ancient lineal succession would thus be altered, which would render the kingdom elective? And if not so, whether such a king should continue to reign only during the life of James? That, he supposed, was not the intention of the Commons; but at any rate he must remain king during his own life; and then, if a distinction was to be made regarding the succession between the natural and civil death, if King James were to die during the life of the

new king, what would become of the hereditary monarchy? If the throne was vacant, he desired to know whether they were obliged to fill it? If they were, they must do so either according to the old laws, or in obedience to the humour of the time: if by the former, they had only to make choice of the next lineal successor; if by the latter, the line of inheritance would be diverted, and he could not see how they could pursue such a course without committing the same error they had ascribed to the King.

Mr. Sacheverel observed, that their business was merely to maintain that the throne was vacant; and Mr. Sommers argued, that the word vacant could not be objected to, since it had been applied in the case of Henry IV.

To which the Earl of Rochester answered, that as that was the only precedent for the word vacant, yet it was attended with this very consequence, that it would make the monarchy elective; for it being there declared, that the royal seat was vacant, immediately did follow an election of Henry IV., who was not next in the royal line.

Sir Robert Howard argued, that the proceedings of the House of Commons in the present vote were fully warranted by the precedent that had been cited, and were strictly constitutional. Their Lordships had admitted that the late King had done what amounted to an abdication of the government, and the throne was rendered thereby vacant. He much regretted the ambiguous tone

assumed by the Lords, which had unnecessarily protracted the debate: he considered all their public acts, since the departure of the King, to have been legal; and did not doubt that the power which brought in another line on occasion of the deposition of Richard II., was still constitutionally vested in the Lords and Commons, and legally sufficient to supply the present vacancy. He much regretted the existing state of things, but, under circumstances of such emergency, their Lordships ought not to forget that "*Salus populi est suprema lex.*" They all knew the monarchy was hereditary; but what were they to do in order to find out the successor in the right line? Their Lordships had declared they would not make a precedent of election, or take it upon themselves to alter the succession: the settlement of the constitution was the main point of consideration; that difficulty set at rest, the succession would easily be arranged. Their Lordships had limited this succession, and cut off some who might have a lineal right; they had concurred with the Commons in a vote, that it was inconsistent with the religion and laws to have a papist to reign over them. Must they not, then, come to an election, in the event of the next heir being a papist? Surely the present was a case in which the nation had a right to expect they would supply the deficiency; if they did not, they would have to leave the country to extricate itself as best it might, out of its difficult and distracted state, and then

upon whom would the fearful responsibility, for all the consequences that might ensue, devolve?

After a protracted argument, in which Sir George Treby, the Earls of Pembroke and Clarendon, and Sir Richard Temple, took part, the Earl of Nottingham once more observed, that he could not imagine how a kingdom could be hereditary and the throne vacant, when the King, deserting the government, had children in being? It was urged, indeed, that the Lords, by voting that it was inconsistent with our religion and laws to have a Popish Prince to rule over us, had, in effect, agreed to the vacancy; but he contended that a vote of the two houses could not alter the law of hereditary descent, if abdication and vacancy merely meant to signify that the King had left the government, and that it had devolved upon the next successor. Some agreement satisfactory to the Lords might be come to: he considered any government to be better than none, but he earnestly desired to see the ancient constitution maintained.

The debate was closed by Mr. Foley and Mr. Eyre. The former observed, that he hoped there was no danger of shaking our fundamentals in this case, but that they were pursuing that course most agreeable to the laws and constitution; for, although the monarchy was hereditary, still a case might occur calling upon them to depart from the regular course of proceeding in obedience to

the laws, and for the sake of upholding the constitution and religion of the realm.

Mr. Eyre contended, that they were necessarily looking to the consequences of a vote not yet determined upon. It was not intended to prejudice any legal right, but it was simply declared that the late King had broken the original contract, violated the fundamental laws, and, by withdrawing himself out of the kingdom, abdicated the government. There was no occasion for such a declaration, if no inference were to be drawn from it: the conclusion, therefore, must be as follows: — That the nation is left without a king, and the throne thereby vacant, without prejudicing the right of succession.

Thus ended this celebrated conference, the most important as well as unparalleled in the annals of England. The speech of Sir Robert Howard seems by far the most appropriate as well as applicable to the subject under discussion. King James had violated not merely some particular laws of comparatively little moment, but fundamental ones, upon which the national liberties depended: he had then withdrawn himself from the kingdom, without making any arrangement with respect to the government. If the constitution of the country is fairly broken through, what laws based upon that constitution can be taken for rule, when they have not provided for extraordinary and unforeseen cases? Lord Nottingham's arguments, as far as regarded the abstract principle of hereditary

monarchy, were sufficiently plausible ; but he did not discern the point of distinction between that monarchy which was in essence despotic, and that which could only govern according to established laws. That the King had violated those laws, no one pretended to dispute ; that he had deserted the seat of government, and left the nation to its own resources, was equally obvious ; his incapacity to govern was, therefore, beyond all doubt. Admitting that he had left his son in the hands of the country, still, that son being an infant, the Lords and Commons, as constitutional legislators of England, must have made the arrangement such an emergency would have required ; but as he had also conveyed him across the seas, and moreover placed him in a country where he would be educated in the Popish creed, no one, arguing according to common reason, could dispute that the throne was *bonâ fide* vacant, and the two Houses of Parliament called upon to provide for the general safety, as well as the preservation of the religion and laws : and a case appears unquestionably to have been established, in which they were justified in making such provision for the succession as the extraordinary and unprecedented position in which they were placed might seem to demand.

CHAPTER XVI.

MESSAGE OF WILLIAM TO THE TWO HOUSES. — WARM DEBATE IN THE LORDS ON THE REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE. — THE THRONE DECLARED VACANT. — OFFER OF THE CROWN TO THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF ORANGE. — ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCESS MARY AT GRAVESEND. — HER TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO LONDON. — THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF ORANGE DECLARED KING AND QUEEN IN THE BANQUETING-ROOM AT WHITEHALL. — OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE TO WILLIAM AND MARY. — REPLY OF THE NEW KING TO THE GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL AND COMMONS OF ENGLAND. — GENERAL SATISFACTION OF THE PEOPLE. — REFLECTIONS ON THE GENERAL ASPECT OF AFFAIRS AND THE REAL CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION.

MEANWHILE the Prince of Orange remained at St. James's, without taking any apparent part in the conference; but, finding that his silence might be misconstrued, he sent for the Marquis of Halifax, and the Earls of Danby and Shrewsbury, and proceeded to tell them that he had been till then silent, because he would not say or do any thing that might seem in any sort to take from any person the full freedom of deliberating and voting in such matters of importance. He was resolved neither to court nor threaten any one. Some were for putting the government into the hands of a Regent. He would say nothing against it, if it was thought the best means for settling their affairs; only he thought it necessary to tell them that he would not be the Regent. So, if they continued

in that design, they must look out for some other person to be put in that post. He himself saw what the consequences of it were like to prove, so he would not accept of it. Others were for putting the Princess singly on the throne, and that he should reign by her courtesy. He said, no man could esteem a woman more than he did the Princess ; but he was so made, that he could not think of holding any thing by apron-strings : nor could he think it reasonable to have any share in the government, unless it was put in his person, and that for the term of life. If they did think fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them in it, but he would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs. He assured him, that, whatsoever others might think of a crown, it was no such thing, in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleased, without it. In the end, he said, he could not resolve to accept of a dignity, so as to hold it only by the life of another ; yet he thought that the issue of the Princess Anne should be preferred in the succession to any issue he might have by any other wife than the Princess.

The above declaration contributed in a great degree to bring the House of Lords to a speedy determination. Many have considered it as a masterpiece of art on the part of William, and that his moderation was only assumed to such an extent as might favour his ulterior purposes. This may not be altogether far removed from the truth ;

yet still it does appear somewhat severe to subject his conduct to censure, because he availed himself of what fortune had placed within his reach. It is unnatural to imagine that any one so situated would be content with merely accepting a crown matrimonial, when the means of obtaining it in his own person were obviously within his reach, it being clearly in the power of the Parliament to make him a tender of the same. If that tender constituted an illegal act, the fault of such an act rested with the Parliament, and could in no way be cast upon himself. Party writers will unquestionably argue according to their own leaning. Some will justify and approve what others will unsparingly censure ; but his most vehement enemy cannot reasonably assert that William took other advantages than any one else similarly situated would have availed himself of. And when his conduct at a most trying period is contrasted with that of his contemporary, Louis XIV., it must, in common justice, be admitted, that, if his acceptance of the crown was either an unjust assumption of the right of another, or a violation of those principles upon which his coming over to England was grounded, the fault must rest with the Lords and Commons of England rather than with himself. James had violated the laws, by endeavouring to undermine the constitution and alter the religion of the country : he had fled from the kingdom, in order to return backed by foreign aid, so as to force his restoration to absolute power ; and he, moreover,

had conveyed the next heir, admitting him, as we do, under ordinary circumstances, to have been such, to be educated in those principles, the exercise of which the Parliament had declared in a monarch to be inconsistent with our religion and laws. The successor must, therefore, be a Protestant, and in that case the right of the Princess Mary was at any rate indisputable. William considered it inconsistent with his dignity to reign only by the courtesy of his wife; and if the Parliament, with the full and free consent of the Princess, which was undoubtedly given, thought fit to make him a tender of the crown in his own person, it seems scarcely fair or reasonable to cast imputations either on his motives or character for having accepted it. At any rate, the course he pursued cannot but appear, to say the least, in a venial light, when contrasted, as it will be, at a later period of this history, with that of Louis XIV., on the celebrated question of the Spanish succession.

When the report of the conference between the two Houses was made to the Lords, a warm debate ensued, as to whether the amendments should be insisted upon? It was also moved, that the birth of the Prince of Wales should be enquired into: but this motion was rejected. It has been pretended by some writers that it was considered a deep stroke of policy to let the Prince of Wales's title remain undecided, in order to deter succeeding monarchs from imitating King James. After a long debate, the majority of the Lords agreed

with the vote of the Commons, that King James had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant. It may reasonably be concluded that many became persuaded the possible danger of the crown becoming elective was not to be compared to the evils that must necessarily ensue, in case the kingdom should be left in its present state of confusion, or King James recalled to the government.

This point having been settled, the next question was, by whom was the throne to be filled? Lord Halifax proposed that it should be given to the Prince of Orange alone, and the two Princesses after his death. This motion did not meet with support: it was readily agreed that the Princess of Orange should be placed on the throne; but there was a division of opinion whether the Prince should be King in his own right, or as husband of the Princess? While these things were proceeding, the Earl of Danby sent over to the Princess in Holland, communicating the present state of affairs, and telling her that, if she desired it, he did not doubt of being able to set her alone upon the throne. Mary replied, that she was the Prince's wife, and would accept of nothing except in conjunction with and under him; adding, that she should take it very ill if any one, under pretence of regard for her, should set up a divided interest between her and the Prince. Not content with this, she sent Lord Danby's letter, together with her reply, to her husband, unquestionably by such

means putting an end to all chance of misunderstanding taking place between them ; while, doubtless, such a decided course on her part tended much to bring both parties to an agreement. Lord Danby did not receive any mark of displeasure from the Prince of Orange.

On the 7th of February, the Lords came to a resolution, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be King and Queen of England, &c. for their natural lives and life of the longer liver of them ; that the sole and full regal power be in the Prince only, in the name of both : that after their decease the Crown should belong to the heirs of the body of the Princess ; in default of such issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body ; in default of such, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange ; in default of such issue, to the person that should be named, and in such manner as should be limited or regulated by Act of Parliament ; and in default of such limitation and regulation, to the lawful heirs of the Prince of Orange.

The same day, the Lords communicated to the Commons their having agreed to the vote of the 28th of January, and desired their concurrence to their own vote, declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen. They also agreed to certain alterations concerning the oaths that should be taken to the new King and Queen. To avoid all cavils upon the terms *rightful* and *lawful* in the original oath, it was determined to adopt the words “ to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and

Queen ;" but by this means they fell into the very snare it was their object to avoid : for hence arose the famous distinction of King *de facto* and King *de jure*, giving rise to the numerous doubts and quibbles upon which many, who, upon the former ground, might declare their willingness to obey the King and Queen when in quiet possession of the throne, still did not consider themselves restricted from assisting James in any attempt he might hereafter make to recover his lost right. The divine right of monarchy, and the doctrine of passive obedience, so publicly and strenuously urged by the clergy, had insensibly led them into difficulties in which they never anticipated being involved. This alteration in the oath, though approved by the Commons, did not previously pass the Lords without the protest of eleven bishops and twelve peers.

On the 12th of February, the Princess Mary landed at Gravesend from Holland, and proceeded to London, amidst the acclamation of the people. She has been accused, by some historians, of having evinced considerable levity and want of feeling on arriving at the palace, and taking possession of the apartments of her father ; but this is an assertion which can be ascribed to party spirit only. The position, where circumstances over which she could have no control had placed her, was one of considerable embarrassment as regarded the manner she had to adopt ; and, judging of her general character, to her feelings as a daughter it must have been far from acceptable. Still, she had an important duty

to perform, both with respect to her native country and her religion, besides one of a private nature, not less obvious, towards the Prince her husband. It is, therefore, unjust to form any harsh conclusions as to any part of her conduct, at a crisis which presented difficulties of no ordinary kind.

On the following day, the Prince and Princess of Orange being seated on two large chairs, under a canopy, in the Banqueting-House, both Houses of the Convention waited upon their Highnesses in a body, and caused the Clerk of the Crown to read, in a loud voice, the following Declaration of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster : —

“ Whereas the late King James II., by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom : by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament ; by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the same assumed power ; by issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a court called “ The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes ; ” by levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time and in other

manner than the same was granted by Parliament ; by raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom, in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law ; by causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law ; by violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament ; by prosecutions in the court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament ; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses : and whereas of late years partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders ; and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects ; and excessive fines have been imposed ; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted ; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied : all which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm.

“ And whereas the said late King James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this

kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did, by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons, cause letters to be written to the Lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, upon the 22d day of January, in the year 1688, in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted: upon which letters elections have been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place (as their ancestors have in like case usually done), for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare,—

“ 1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

“ 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

“ 3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes,

and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

“ 4. That the levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for a longer time or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

“ 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King; and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning is illegal.

“ 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law.

“ 7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

“ 8. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

“ 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

“ 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishments inflicted.

“ 11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors, which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

“ 12. That all grants and promises of fines and

forfeitures of particular persons are illegal and void.

“ 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently. And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the premises, ought in anywise to be drawn hereafter into consequences or example. To which demands of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of His Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

“ Having, therefore, an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the said Lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, are, and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and

the life of the survivor of them ; and that the sole and full exercise of their regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives ; and, after their decease, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess ; and, in default of such issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body ; and, in default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange.

“ And the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly ; and that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them, and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated : —

“ ‘ I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.’

“ ‘ I *A. B.* do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any whatsoever ; and I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have,

any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

After the reading of this declaration, the Marquis of Halifax, Speaker of the House of Lords, made a solemn tender of the Crown to their Highnesses in the name of both houses, whereupon the Prince of Orange returned the following answer : —

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" This is certainly the greatest proof of the trust you have in us, that can be given, which is the thing that makes us value it the more, and we thankfully receive what you have offered. And, as I had no other intention in coming hither, than to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties, so you may be sure that I shall endeavour to support them ; and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the good of the kingdom, and to do all that is in my power to advance the welfare and glory of the nation."

All this was followed with the acclamations of the people, which quickly flew over the whole city. The next day the Prince and Princess were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, by the names of William and Mary, to the inexpressible joy of the people.

Thus was accomplished this memorable revo-

lution, necessary to the sacred cause of religion, necessary in defence of those principles and institutions that will ever remain England's best safeguard. To add to an event which consigned so many eminent churchmen from station and dignity to retirement and obscurity, the epithet of glorious is scarcely apposite ; to call to mind the fate of such celebrated men, such true champions of the cross, is matter of regret scarcely to be obliterated by the triumphant issue of the general cause. Mistaken as we may suppose their views on one special point to have been, no one can deny that to those views at least they proved themselves willing and conscientious martyrs ; and, in relating their history, it will be impossible not to offer to such conduct every tribute of respect and admiration. The revolution, although many of its necessarily consequent evils remain yet to be narrated, was in fact accomplished. And who were its real authors ? who first dared to place themselves in the breach ? who were foremost in protesting against the unconstitutional proceedings of their King ? The answer is obvious ;—the clergy of the Established Church, they who chose to obey God rather than man, and who, following the mandates of a Heavenly King, feared not what an earthly one could do against them ; to the heroic firmness, to the unshaken constancy of the clergy of England, posterity is indebted for all the advantages ensured to them by the revolution of 1688. The two houses of Parliament,

though alarmed at the King's acts, were paralyzed by the recollection of the days of puritanism, and a dread of their possible return, while the council were merely his obsequious tools; the clergy had too much cause to remember the same period, and least of all could they desire its recurrence; they had maintained, more than any other body in the state, the doctrine of passive obedience, but they were the first in this instance to see its abuse; they were the first to put aside minor divisions, and look only to the one great cause, escape from the evils and influence of Popery. They were eager to uphold their sovereign, but, being placed in that awfully critical position, where obedience to his mandate would have been to desert that hallowed fane of which they were ordained the ministers, and consecrated the guardians, they paused not between their interest and their duty; they preferred the high call of the latter, however fraught with personal danger, to the ignominy of assenting to what their consciences could not approve.

Such was the exemplary conduct of the clergy of England in the hour of their religion's greatest peril: to their energy, to their heroism, her safety, her triumph, can alone be attributed. To their successors in the ministry, to every true lover of his country, to every professed champion of the pure Protestant creed, may it well be said, "Go ye and do likewise."

APPENDIX.

I.

Decree of the States General declaring the Office of Stadtholder hereditary in the Family of the Prince of Orange.

HAVING taken into deliberation, by way of resumption, what the Lord's deputies of the city of Haerlem proposed to the assembly the 23^d of January last past, Whether it would not be expedient that the charge of Stadtholder, and Captain, and Admiral-General of the Provinces of Holland and West Friesland, and Captain and Admiral-General of the United Provinces, should descend upon the heirs male of his Highness the Prince of Orange, begotten in lawful marriage, as by the rolls of the same date more amply may appear. We, the body and nobility, and the deputies of the cities, in the name and on the behalf of the burghers and commonalty of the said cities, have declared and do declare by these presents, that having deliberately considered the state and constitution of the government of these countries, as it was in former times, by the blessings of God, under the most illustrious Princes of Orange, of glorious memory, his Highness's predecessors; and whatever has befallen this republic, for these twenty-three or twenty-four years last past, till now, we have observed this republic has been afflicted with several calamities and disasters, as well domestic as foreign, ever since the sad and unfortunate year 1650. That as to our foreign calamities, we have never been without wars, or fears of wars; more particularly one most dreadful war between the kingdom of England and these states, which shook the very foundations of the government of these countries, so that hardly it has recovered wealth ever since the said war: and another against the crown of Portugal, in the years 1656, and 1658,

and 1659; and another occasioned by the interest of the northern crowns. That in the year 1664 they had another new war with the King of Great Britain; and now this present war, more sad and fatal than all the rest. And that during the whole course of the said war, this republic has been constrained to suffer many affronts from her neighbours, to whom she was before a terror. That as to our domestic affairs, we have been overwhelmed with intestine divisions and factions. That from the year 1650 to the year 1660, several members of this republic have had a particular aversion to the person of the present Prince of Orange, the only son of that illustrious family; and that others, on the contrary, have zealously maintained that the said Prince ought not to be ungratefully abandoned. That the King of Great Britain being recalled to the government of his dominions, and passing through these countries, in order to his embarking for England, this republic testified, as well to his Majesty as to the Princess Royal and Dowager, that they would take particular care of the interest and education of his Highness, and to restore him to the dignities which his illustrious ancestors, of glorious memory, had enjoyed. But that after the death of the said Princess Royal, all good will and affection towards his Highness was lost, and no further notice taken of him, till of late that some care was taken of his education; and that, at length, towards the end of 1671, or 1672, great contests arose about the election of his Highness to be Captain General of the militia of this country. That we have found, by sad experience, that the said intestine divisions and factions have given an occasion to the enemies of this republic to affront us every moment, as knowing well that they render us incapable to mind our own defence, by the violation of the union which laid the foundation of this republic, and which God has so miraculously blessed. And that the differences which arose every day about the election of a Captain-General of the militia, and the discords which happened among the principal members of this republic, were the occasions that retarded and hindered

the deliberations and resolutions which, of necessity, ought to have been taken, to repel foreign force, and make us spend, in idle disputes, the precious time which ought to have been better husbanded. That the said divisions were the reason that, towards the year 1671, when the King of France openly declared that he would make war against this country, we consumed whole months together in deliberating about the election of a Captain-General, and whether to pitch upon the person of His Highness; which time ought to have been spent in providing for the defence of the state. And that for the same reason it was, that the King of France invaded this country by force of arms, in the year 1672, and reduced us to the last extremities, and hazard of total ruin. That, therefore, the Lords, the states of Holland, have deemed it necessary, as the only expedient they can imagine or hope for, absolutely to pluck up by the roots the occasions of the said factions and divisions, to prevent their falling any more into misfortunes and miseries to which they have hitherto been exposed; and, on the other side, to acknowledge the great services which the most illustrious House of Orange has, from time to time, performed, for the preservation and establishment of this republic. For these reasons the Lords of the body of the nobility, as also the Deputies of the cities, have unanimously conferred, and by these presents do confer, in the name and on the behalf of the burghers and commonalty of the said cities, upon His Highness and his heirs male, begotten in lawful marriage, the charge of Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral-General of the Provinces of Holland and West Friesland, with all the dignities, pre-eminences, prerogatives, rights, and privileges thereto belonging, without any exception or reservation, in as ample and in the same manner as the same charge is at present executed by His Highness; and, consequently, that after the decease of his said Highness (to whom, nevertheless, the states of Holland wish a long and happy life, in all health and prosperity), the said charge of Stadtholder, Captain, and Admiral-General of the Provinces of Holland and West

Friesland, with all the dignities, pre-eminences, prerogatives, rights, and privileges thereunto belonging, without any exception or reservation, shall devolve and descend upon his heirs male, begotten in lawful wedlock, in pursuance of which resolution the said Lords of the body of the nobility have ordered letters patent to be drawn up, and sealed with the great seal of the said provinces."

II.

A Letter of the States General of the United Provinces to the King of Great Britain, dated at the Hague the 18th of December, 1673, which being communicated to the Parliament then sitting, both Houses came to this unanimous Resolution, That His Majesty should be humbly intreated to proceed to a speedy Peace with the Dutch.

SIR,

Whatsoever might be the motive that has induced your Majesty to write us the letter, which the trumpeter we had sent to you delivered us from your Majesty, bearing date the 17th of November, we find ourselves obliged to give your Majesty thanks for the honour you have been pleased to do us; but withal, we cannot dispense with ourselves, without declaring to your Majesty the grief we conceive by finding the same of an importance so much to our disadvantage; and that the ministers upon whom your Majesty places most confidence, have, until this time, exercised their skill in bringing things to that point as they have done, persuading your Majesty that they could rake up together so many things as they believe had been quite blotted out of your Majesty's memory, and which they in their consciences knew to be far from the truth.

This consideration, Sir, hindereth us from giving a particular answer to the heads of the letter which your Majesty has written us, out of fear lest the same should tend to give an occasion to them who have already surprised your Majesty to our prejudice, to render things

worse; and, betaking ourselves to that whereto we have been necessitated, in drawing up our answers to the manifesto published in your Majesty's name, we shall content ourselves herein to declare to your Majesty, whereas we have not in our letters, which we have had the honour of writing to your Majesty, *de facto*, said any thing of which we should not be able to give an authentic and unanswerable evidence, we shall always be ready to produce the same before your Majesty, whensoever it shall please you to give us a more particular occasion thereunto. Further, since your Majesty, being of the sentiment that the report your ministers had made to you was more sincere, hath complained in your Parliament of the invincible averseness which he showed to the peace; and that the House of Commons, according to their ordinary prudence, hath been pleased to suspend their judgments, and thereby give us opportunity to bring our innocence to light, and to make known in a more public manner the uncontradictory sincerity of our intentions, we have believed it to be our duty to add this, that your Majesty and all your kingdonis may see that we affect not to speak of peace, as we are thereupon accused, without a real desire thereof; and that we are far from concluding ourselves within general terms, without particular discovery of our meaning; we are ready to renew with your Majesty the treaty that was made with us at Breda, in the year 1667, and to give a clearer exposition of the nineteenth article, referring to the ceremony of the flag, upon such a manner as may leave no place for further dispute, and to regulate the same without any ambiguity. And forasmuch as that treaty hath been held by your Majesty to be so just and equitable, that in the following years it occasioned your Majesty to afford us more tokens of benevolence and good inclination, and that you entered into a nearer alliance with us than ever formerly, we propose that treaty as a fast foundation of a firm and lasting peace; and hope that your Majesty will not refuse your friendship upon the same conditions which were by yourself before approved; for that the interest of the pro-

testant religion, and many cases respectively relating to the prosperity of both the nations, ought to oblige us, on both sides, readily to unite. Moreover, seeing some have strongly endeavoured to persuade your Majesty that we have violated our treaties, and committed divers unjust things, for which you demand satisfaction; we are ready, without any delay, to send ambassadors to your Majesty to inform you of the truth, with less disguise than hath been done by our enemies; and before your Majesty to enter into an examination of all the treaties whereof we are blamed, to repair all wrongs and injuries which your Majesty or your subjects might have received from us, or from our officers, since the aforesaid treaty at Breda, till the beginning of this war. And that the discussing thereof may not retard the concluding of a peace which we so ardently wish, and which is so needful for the welfare of Christendom, we offer to your Majesty, for greater security, the guarantee of our allies, for the exact and punctual performance of the promise we here make to your Majesty, and which we consent to, that it be brought into the treaty which shall be concluded, to make it so much the more authentic.

Finally, to let your Majesty fully see the especial esteem we have for your friendship, we hereby offer the restitution of the New Netherlands, and of all the other places and colonies which have been gained by our arms in this present war, persuading ourselves that your Majesty will not refuse reciprocally to engage to restore to us the lands or forts which yours may have conquered.

As for what your Majesty seems above all to complain, that we most highly offend you in the proposal we make for separating you from your allies, to whom you have promised not to treat without them; when we, in the mean time, assume it for a fundamental point, that we must pursue the engagement that we have given ours, without injuring our honour, as if your Majesty ought less to regard yours. We beseech your Majesty to consider, that there is a vast difference betwixt your engagement and

ours, as well as in the conduct of those with whom we are allied; and your Majesty may, with as much justice as glory, extinguish a fire which has spread much further than was at first believed; whereas we cannot abandon our allies without the greatest unthankfulness and without the ruin of Europe, and therewithal of ourselves. At that time, as your Majesty entered into an union with our enemies, they seemed to have no other aim than to level our commonwealth; at this day the war is general, and the Spanish Netherlands (for the preservation of which your Majesty hath always shown so much zeal,) participate therein no less than we, as also doth great part of the empire. On the other side, your Majesty hath so much the less cause to continue in your former alliance, for that your allies have been they who have altered the nature of the war, and engaged our friends so much the sooner to declare in favour of us. His Imperial Majesty, and the Most Serene King of Spain, hath not been longer able to bear the hostilities which the French committed in the Netherlands, and in several provinces of the empire, where they had already made themselves masters of an electoral palace. But without entering upon the search of those affairs, and not accounting it needful to make use of the several arguments of that nature, your Majesty, Sir, hath too much cause to desert an ally, who in this war had sought nothing but his particular advantage, and who, in cases of most importance, had laid nothing less to heart than the interest of your Majesty, that we say no worse; and if your Majesty does yet in the least doubt thereof, let not your Majesty be content with what the French partisans tell you, but let that be well examined which was done last year at Utrecht between the French ministers and our deputies, and you may see the sincerity of the proceedings of your allies. It is certainly enough to convince you to read the propositions which the French, at that time, made to us, wherein you cannot find one single word that concerns your Majesty, and in the meanwhile our other deputies were detained at Hampton Court without your being

pleased to give them audience, they at Utrecht would have had us enter into and accomplish a treaty without participation with your Majesty; and to constrain us the more, they declared to us, that in case we agreed not to all that they demanded of us within the time of five days, they should then make new demands of us. We could, besides these, produce divers other overtures which have been made to us since that time, wherein your Majesty hath been as little considered, but because that kind of dealing hath not been so public, though really such, we shall not insist thereon, and shall satisfy ourselves with the last proof of obligation your Majesty hath from your allies, in giving you to consider what passed in the sea fight, of which we desire no other testimony nor judges than those who had the command of the fleets of your Majesty, with all the rest of the officers and soldiers. But, in reference to us, as our allies have dealt quite differently in other ways, for which we are bound by obligations which we cannot enough express; so, on the other hand, we are entered into a covenant with them, through an indispensable necessity, and therewith for the welfare of all Europe. And, lastly, as we have already said, we cannot separate from them without our destruction, and the hazard of the well-being of Christendom, your Majesty ought not to wonder that we cannot consent to break our word, nor to take it ill that we propose to your Majesty the pursuit of your true interests, and to take a resolution which will be so honourable and so righteous, as well as profitable to your kingdoms and neighbours.

Hereto we will yet add, that a particular treaty is so much more necessary and more just, than the conferences of Colen, which do absolutely stand still through the strongly opinionative denial of France for some months past, to grant the passes requisite for the ministers of the Duke of Lorrain, one of our allies, and to consent that he might be accepted as an interested person in that treaty of peace.

This, Sir, is what we have thought fit to represent and

offer to your Majesty for answer to the most important of your letters; and hereupon we hope, that how little reflection soever your Majesty shall make upon it, you will acknowledge that more cannot in justice be demanded of us, being unwilling to believe that your Majesty, without necessity or profit, will continue to favour the arms of France, not only against us, but also against others, your oldest allies, who are obliged to own our cause, or that you will any longer endanger the preservation of Europe and the Protestant religion. We shall with great impatience expect the resolution of your Majesty, upon which the quietness and prosperity of so many nations depend. And meanwhile we pray God to accumulate happiness upon your reign, and bless your Royal Person with health and a long life.

III.

The Spanish Ambassador's Memorial to King Charles II.

SIR,

The misfortunes of Europe being so much augmented by the calamities of war, have at length obliged the Princes thereof to a more earnest apprehension of that ruin which is threatened by the arms of France, and the strange progress those arms have made. For his most Christian Majesty not contenting himself to lessen the power of Holland (which was the principal motive and foundation of the war), hath thought fit to penetrate into the bowels of the empire, and by overthrowing the peace thereof, introduce those outrages that always attend war, insomuch as his Imperial Majesty, in order to repel the aspiring design of France, hath been driven to the violent remedy of arms, and all the Princes of the empire have been so awakened with jealousies, as to confederate with him, not only for the security of their own dominions, but for the common good of all, nothing being more evident to them than that

the augmentation of France must be founded on the subjection of all others. Whereof his Imperial Majesty having, upon these so important and justifiable grounds, entered into a league with the States General of the United Provinces, and the two branches of the House of Austria being in their interests so much the same, the Queen, my mistress, has found herself obliged to unite with both these powers, in order to restrain the ambitious designs of France, and to restore Christendom to the tranquillity it enjoyed, though at the same time she is filled with sorrow and compassion for that effusion of blood which must flow on all sides from the war, and the inevitable ruin that must attend those countries that are at present involved in the infelicities thereof. But being desirous to prevent some greater evils yet, and that between Spain and this Crown nothing may arise to disturb the good correspondence which hath been hitherto maintained, she cannot but observe how your Majesty is united with the Crown of France, and this at a time when the said Crown, as all men do conclude, and by the abandoning so many of their late conquered places is demonstrable, are resolving to unite and pour all their forces on the dominions of the King my master, making them the unhappy seat of the war; so that if your Majesty partakes therein, it is impossible but many insupportable offences must arise, and, therefore, Her Majesty being excited by that true and sincere desire which she hath always had, and which hath been still testified in Spain for the confirmation of your Majesty's friendship, and augmenting the felicity of your reign; whereof what your Majesty owed in so many occasions to the love and services of the late King Philip IV., my master, of blessed memory, is sufficient proof; and also what the Queen, my mistress, hath laboured (in all things that have occurred) to manifest. I am now further commanded to present unto your Majesty's royal consideration, the great union that is by nature established in the interests of this Crown with Spain, and also the great conveniences that will result to your Majesty and your king-

doms, in admitting a peace with Holland. For your subjects being freed from the calamities of the war, and enjoying the advantages of a free trade, must needs grow rich in the same proportion that others will consume, till this flame be extinguished. Whereof I am in her royal name commanded to propose to your Majesty, that the States General will yield in matter of the flag, to the content and satisfaction of your Majesty; that they will make restitution of all countries and prizes, which the arms of the said States General, during this war, have taken or may take out of Europe, upon like restitution being made to them. And, lastly, that although their expences have been exorbitant, they will give eight hundred thousand patacoons to be paid as followeth; that is to say, one fourth part in the same time that the ratifications of the treaty of peace shall be delivered, and the residue in three terms, one of them to be in the first year after the end of the war, one other the second year, and the last in the third year, by equal proportions; and the said States General will give caution sufficient, and to the satisfaction of the Queen my mistress. These are the propositions which the Queen, my mistress, commands me to put into your Majesty's royal hands, from whose magnanimity she hopeth, that at her interposition you will admit the same, and thereby do an action as to the world, laudable (by inclining the minds of all to restore Christendom to its ancient repose), and to your subjects most desirable, by their owing to your Majesty's piety an exemption from the troubles, miseries, and ruin of war, and enjoying the blessing of peace, and the freedom and advantages of their trade. And I cannot but promise myself, from considerations of this importance, a speedy, favourable, and benign answer to return to the Queen my mistress, thereby to bind up in a closer tie of friendship the thoughts and inclinations of the subjects of both Crowns, for should a contrary answer be given to the adjustment that is proposed on such reasonable terms, Spain must be obliged to take other measures for its security, it

being incompatible that sincere friendship, or a peace, can subsist between the two Crowns, if your Majesty will persevere in the engagements of this war.

London, Dec. 1^o, 1678.

MARQUIS DEL FREZNO.

IV.

His Majesty's Answer to the Spanish Ambassador's Memorial.

HIS Majesty having seen and considered a memorial delivered to him by his Excellency the Marquis del Frezno, Extraordinary Ambassador from the Catholic King, bearing date the 1^o instant, commands this answer to be made thereunto: — That he was not a little surprized to find the contents of this paper confirm to him the report of a treaty made betwixt the King his master, and the States General of the United Provinces (the assisting of whom, in this war, was a manifest breach of the separate article of the treaty between the two kings, binding them reciprocally not to assist one another's enemies in open war), and His Majesty's wonder thereupon hath been the greater, in that this treaty with the States General was never owned to him by the ambassador himself, or any of the Spanish ministers, and that his Excellency was pleased to look upon it, when the rumour thereof came first abroad, as a malicious invention of the enemies of the Crown of Spain, diffused only to create a misunderstanding betwixt His Majesty and that Crown, whereas now it seemed to be a real thing, and doth no less, according to the tenor of the said memorial, than threaten a war to His Majesty, if he will not submit himself to the conditions imposed upon him by his declared enemies. Notwithstanding which, His Majesty esteems himself in some degree beholden to the Catholic Queen, for having imparted to him the terms and conditions upon which the States General of the United Provinces will be content to make the peace with His Majesty, since in so many months that the plenipotentiaries

have been at Cologne, their deputies could never be brought to make a clear declaration of any offers that they would stand to, but held them still under such ambiguities as they might at all times recede from them as they should see cause. Now, although the conditions offered in the said memorial are very small in respect of the great expense of blood and treasure the war hath cost, yet, that the world may see how desirous His Majesty is to contribute to the general peace of Christendom, he declares he will be content with any reasonable conditions for a peace suitable to his own honour and the interests of his subjects.

The offers made in his Excellency's memorial are, —
1st, The point of the flag promised to be adjusted to His Majesty's satisfaction.

2dly, A reciprocal restitution of places and prizes that are or may have been taken by either nation out of Europe during this war.

3dly, and lastly, the sum of 800,000 palacoons.

Now, if the States General will extinguish their pretension to the restitution of the prizes as a thing impracticable, and never insisted on in any treaty of peace, and add to the above-mentioned offers these additional ones, which cannot be well denied; viz.

1st, An equal and reciprocal regulation of the trade in the East Indies, such as was often promised, and particularly in the last treaty of Breda.

2dly, Leave to his subjects, yet detained at Surinam; to depart from thence with their estates and effects, pursuant to the said treaty, and their own reiterated promises and orders.

3dly, and lastly, That the subjects of the said States General shall, for the future, abstain from fishing upon the coasts and shores of any of His Majesty's dominions, without leave and passports first obtained.

His Majesty declared, that, as to himself, he will be content with these conditions. But, because the wording of articles thereupon is of equal moment to the things that shall be contained in them, and that this cannot be effected

but by persons equally instructed and empowered on both sides, His Majesty further declares, that he will direct his plenipotentiaries at Cologne, to apply themselves, together with the deputies of the States General, without delay thereunto, by the help of the mediation of the Crown of Sweden, which, having been accepted and authorised on both sides; and the city of Cologne having been insisted on by the Dutch to the mediators for the place of treaty, His Majesty conceives, that neither the place nor the mediation can be now declined without a notorious offence to the parties concerned, and more particularly to the honour of the Crown of Sweden.

And His Majesty assures himself that this his proceeding will appear so fair and equal to the Catholic Queen, as not to lessen in any degree in her royal breast the esteem she professes to have of his friendship and alliance, which His Majesty has ever used his utmost endeavours to cultivate and improve, particularly in making himself the principal instrument of the two late peaces of Portugal and Aix-la-Chapelle, so valuable to the Crown of Spain in the minority of their King, and in so cautioning the peace between France and Spain from any violation or disturbance by this present war, as he did in the treaty made with the Most Christian King, when he entered into the union and confederation with him against the States General of the United Provinces. Given at the Court at Whitehall, the 16th day of December, 1673.

By His Majesty's Command,

ARLINGTON.

V.

The Prince and Princess were hurried out of town, there being a secret design to invite them to an entertainment in the city by the country party, which the court did not like. At Canterbury they applied to the corporation to lend them money, having come away quite unprovided: that body was afraid to advance any. Dr. Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, hearing of this, waited upon Mr. Bentinck

with what money and plate he could get together for their service. This act probably was the fundamental cause of his subsequent promotion to the first dignity in his profession.

Charles assured Louis that he had made the match with a design to engage the Prince to be more tractable in the treaty pending at Nimeguen. On Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, coming over soon after this event, Darby enquired how the King of France received the news of the marriage? He replied, "As he would have done the loss of an army; and spoke very harshly of the Duke for not acquainting him with it." Darby answered, "He wronged him, for he did not know it an hour before it was published, and the king himself not above two hours." Certain it is that James never forgave Lord Darby the part he acted in that affair.

VI.

Treaty of Alliance between England and Holland, concluded at the Hague, July 26. 1678.

As the States of the United Provinces, after having declared by their letters to the Most Christian King, that they consented to the conditions of peace, as far as in them lay, which he offered them, and that His Catholic Majesty, who was also of the same sentiments, was willing on his part, so far as it regarded him, to embrace the treaty; and having upon that head used all the facility that can be, and to that end ordered his ambassadors at Nimeguen to set their hands to those conditions, so far as it related to them, as well as the other allies, who were also willing to be comprehended therein, have nevertheless understood, with much concern of mind, that the ministers of France have opposed the same, and refused the restitution of the places which belong to Spain and the States, without they would first, and for the satisfaction of Sweden, restore all those places which had been taken from them during the course of the war. This so unexpected a change having obliged

the States to believe that pretensions so ill grounded were rather an effect of the repugnancy that might be in the plenipotentiaries, than the real intentions of His Majesty, who had otherwise declared himself; and as the said States did besides inform His Majesty of Great Britain of the essential points that obstructed that important negotiation, praying him to support so just a cause, and to endeavour to obtain of His Most Christian Majesty all that might remove the obstacles which retarded that work; and adding, withal, that, if his endeavours should prove fruitless in so just a work, he would be pleased to protect and assist them with all his forces; and that His Majesty did thereupon re-assure them that the peace was neither just nor feasible upon those conditions, and gave them his promise that he would defend them, if the Most Christian King refused it under any pretence whatsoever; upon that the States gave orders to their plenipotentiaries to desire those of France, that, without making those exorbitant demands, or entering upon satisfaction to Sweden, they would forthwith conclude and sign the treaty, which they were also ready to do in the name of the States, if His Majesty, after the ratification and publishing of the peace, would give up unto them all those places, without pretending any restitution to the Swedes of what they had lost since the war.

With this view, and in order to prevent those dangerous consequences that may arise from such delay, it was agreed between His Britannic Majesty and the States, that, if their offices and endeavours do not surmount these obstructions, and if they cannot get the Most Christian King to declare, before the 11th of August, that he will really restore those places, after the ratification and publishing of the said treaty, without any farther insisting upon the pretensions of the Swedes, by a speedy evacuation of those that ought to be restored by virtue of that peace: it is then agreed, and these two powers do agree to declare war against France, and to compel her thereto with their joint forces, according to the conditions stipulated underneath, or such as shall be hereafter established between them, or with other Princes who shall enter into this engagement.

And as His Most Christian Majesty has often declared to his Britannic Majesty, as a common mediator between the parties in difference, that he would readily embrace a peace that could be made upon reasonable terms; yet his good offices and hopes have not been able to produce the fruits wished for, through the new pretensions that have been continually raised.

His said Majesty and the States General assembled July 26. 1678, believing, and being persuaded, that repose cannot be given to Christendom, if the Princes who are in wa r should accept of those conditions, and if, as to what concerns Spain and France, the latter do not render to the other Charleroy, Ath, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guislain, Binch, the Duchy of Limburg, &c., with their bailiwicks, chattelries, governments, provostships, appurtenances, and dependencies, so as to restore them, and put them into the hands of Spain.

And, as for what concerns the Emperor, the empire, and its Princes, that France shall give up to them all that she has taken from them at present, and that the rest remain as it was before the war; that Lorraine be restored to the Duke of that name, in the same state it is now in; or if that cannot be done, in the state it was when seized by France; His Majesty and the States mutually and really obliging themselves to the observation of this point.

1st, His said Majesty, and the Lords the States General, promise to do their utmost, and, if it may be, to use all sorts of means to constrain the Most Christian King to give satisfaction in these terms, without being at liberty to make a peace with him, if he do not give his consent to them, or to some others as shall be agreed upon between His Majesty and the States, according to the success of the war.

2dly, His Majesty and the States General do engage themselves farther for the obliging France to consent to these conditions, or to such as the Princes concerned shall find convenient; and, in short, for bringing that Crown to comply with it, that His Majesty shall have one third

more at sea, and a third less by land, in the Low Countries, than the Lords the States, all by a provisional way, till it be otherwise provided by the allies.

3dly, It is also stipulated, that if His Majesty of Great Britain, and the Most Christian King make war upon one another, one of the confederates cannot separate from the other by any particular treaty, without that other's consent.

4thly, But if the negociation of peace, which is held at Nimeguen, comes to be broke up, and that the parties should agree upon any other place to treat of it, or of a truce, that cannot be done without the consent or agreement of the other allies, and without, at the same time, one of the parties of the confederacy procure also to the other the necessary passports to pass freely, and without danger, to the place appointed for the treaty, where he ought also to communicate to him all that passeth in that negotiation. And, in the mean time, they shall not have power to consent to any peace or truce, but according to the conditions stipulated by the first article, or such other as they shall agree upon, and without his ally be re-established in the full and entire possession of all the lands, towns, places, and immunities which he enjoyed at the signing of the treaty in Europe, if it be not otherwise agreed on between His Majesty and the States.

5thly, But if the peace in hand terminate happily between the Most Christian King on the one hand, and His Catholic Majesty and the States General on the other, whether by the propositions which France hath made herself, or by such others as they can agree to, His Britannic Majesty and the States will not only be guarantee in the best and surest form that may be, but also it is free for other Kings and neighbouring Princes, who shall have any interest in the repose of Christendom, and the immutable tranquillity of the Low Countries, to be so. It is with this view that His said Majesty and the States would agree upon the troops and means that are necessary to bring the person who shall violate the peace to make satisfaction for the damage he shall do another any manner of way.

6thly, These Articles, and the full contents of them, are to be signed and ratified within three weeks, or sooner if it may be, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time. Given at the Hague, July 26. 1678.

(Signed)
W. TEMPLE.

W. VAN HENKELORN,
VAN WINGAERDEN FAGEL,
D. VAN HEYDEN,
VAN LEWEN,
J. DE MAREGNAULT,
JEAN BARON DE REED,
A. TER BORGH.

VII.

*A Letter from a Jesuit of Liege to a Jesuit of Fribourg,
dated Feb. 2. 1684.*

It is wonderful to see King James's great affection to our society. He wished prosperity to this whole college, by the Reverend Father the Provincial, and earnestly recommended himself to our prayers. Upon Father John Keynes's return to England, he gave him a most gracious reception (while Earls and Dukes were commanded for some hours to wait for admittance); with whom, in the Queen's presence, he discoursed with all familiarly. He asked him how many candidates for orders he had, and how many students? And upon the Provincial's answer to His Majesty, who was urgent with him, that of the former and the latter he had above fifty, he replied, there would be occasion for double or treble that number to effect what he designed for that society's performance, and ordered that they should be all exercised in the art of preaching; for now, says he, England has need of such.

I do not doubt but you have heard that the King, writing to Father de la Chaise, the French King's confessor, concerning the affairs of the house among the Walloons, declared, that, whatever was done to the En-

glish fathers of that house, he would look upon as done to himself. Father Clare, rector of the same house, being arrived at London to treat of that matter, got an easy access to the King, and as easily gained his point. The King himself forbid him to kneel and kiss his hand, according to custom, saying, "Reverend Father, you have indeed once kissed my hand; but if I had known then, as I do now, that you were a priest, I would rather myself, Father, have kneeled down and kissed your hand." After he had finished his business in a familiar conversation, His Majesty told this Father, that he would either convert England, or die a martyr; and he had rather die the next day, and convert it, than reign twenty years piously and happily, and not effect it. Finally, he called himself a son of the society, of whose good success, he said, he was as glad as of his own. And it can scarcely be expressed how much gratitude he showed, when it was told him, that he was made partaker, by the most reverend our Provincial, of all the merits of the society, out of which he is to nominate one for his confessor; but hitherto it is not known who it will be: some report that it will be the Reverend Father the Provincial; but still there is no certainty of that. Many are of opinion, that Father Edward R. Petre, who is chiefly in favour with the King, will obtain an archbishopric, but more believe it to be a cardinal's cap. To him has been granted, within this month or two, all that part of the palace in which the King used to reside when he was Duke of York, where there is not a day but you may see I know not how many courtiers waiting to speak to his Eminence (for so they say he is called); for he advises with him, and with many Catholic Lords, who have the chief places in the kingdom, to find a method to propagate the faith without violence. Not long since, some of these Lords objected to the King, that they thought he made too much haste to establish the faith; to whom he answered, "I am growing old, and must take large steps, else, if I should happen to die, I might perhaps leave you in a worse condition than I found you."

When they asked him, why, then he was so little concerned about the conversion of his daughters, who were the heirs of the kingdom? he answered, "God will take care of that: leave the conversion of my daughters to me; do you, by your example, convert your tenants and others to the faith."

He has Catholic Lord-Lieutenants in most counties, and we shall have shortly Catholic Justices of the Peace in almost all places. We hope also that our affairs will have good success at Oxford. In the public chapel of the Vice-Chancellor, who is a Catholic, there is always one of our divines, who has converted some of the students to the faith. The Bishop of Oxford himself seems to be a great favourer of the Catholic faith; he proposed to the council, whether it did not seem to be expedient that at least one college should be granted to the Catholics at Oxford, that they might not be forced to study beyond sea, at such great expenses; but it is not yet known what answer he had. The same bishop having invited two of our brethren, together with some of the nobility, drank the King's health to a certain heretic Lord who was in company, wishing His Majesty good success in all his undertakings; adding, also, that the religion of the Protestants in England did not seem to him in a better condition than Breda was before it was taken, and that they were next to atheists that defended that faith. Many embrace the true religion, and four of the most considerable Earls have lately made public profession of it. Father Alexander Keynes, the Provincial's nephew, to whom is committed the care of the chapel belonging to the Elector Palatine's envoy, is continually taken up in solving and answering the questions of heretics, who doubt of their faith, of whom you may see two or three together, walking by the chapel door, continually disputing about some point of religion. As to Prince George, it is yet uncertain what religion he professes. We gradually begin to get footing in England; we teach human learning at Lincoln, Norwich, and York; and at Worcester we have a public chapel, protected by a

guard of the King's soldiers; and we are to buy some houses at Wigan in Lancashire. The Catholic interest grows very strong, and at some churches, granted to the Catholics, upon holidays there are often counted fifteen hundred present at the sermon. At London, also, our business is carried on with the same good success. Sermons are preached upon every holiday, and there are so many that frequent the chapels, that they are not big enough to hold them. Two of our society, Dormer and Bertue, preach continually before the King and the Queen; Father Edward Neville before the Queen Dowager; Father Alexander Keynes in the chapel aforesaid; others in other chapels. There are many houses bought in the Savoy, near Somerset House, which is the Queen Dowager's palace, towards erecting the first college in London, for about 18,000 florins, and they are hard at work to bring them to the form of a college, that a school may be open before Easter.

A Catholic Lord-Lieutenant is shortly to go over to Ireland, because the King cannot be satisfied with any other, to establish the Catholic interest in that kingdom. the Parliament will certainly sit in this month of February, of whom His Majesty is resolved to ask three things:— first, that by a general act all the Catholic Peers may be admitted to sit in the upper house; secondly, that the test may be abolished; and, thirdly, which is the chief point, that all penal laws against Catholics should be abrogated. And, that he may the better obtain these things, he designs to let them all know, that he is resolved to turn out all those who will not heartily act for the obtaining of them, and likewise dissolve the Parliament. At which resolution, some heretics being terrified, came to a certain Earl to advise with him what might be done; to whom he answered, "The King's mind is sufficiently known: what he has once said he will certainly perform: if you love yourselves, submit to the King's pleasure." There is to be a great preparation of war at London, and a fleet of above a hundred men-of-war is to be fitted out against the spring,

but against whom it is uncertain. The Dutch are under great apprehensions, but for what reason, although they are said to make an armament, time will best discover.

VIII.

King James's Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience to the Kingdom of Scotland.

THAT His Majesty, being resolved to unite the hearts and affections of his subjects to God in religion, to him in royalty, and to their neighbours in Christian love and charity; he had therefore thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve, to give and grant his royal toleration to the several professors of the Christian religion after named. First, he allows and tolerates the moderate Presbyterians to meet in their private houses only; but it is his pleasure that field conventiclers be prosecuted according to the utmost severity of the laws. In like manner, he tolerates Quakers to meet and exercise in their form, in any place or places appointed for their worship. Then the Proclamation proceeds thus:—“Considering the severe and cruel laws made against Roman Catholics (therein called Papists) in the minority of our royal grandfather, of glorious memory, without his consent, and contrary to the duty of good subjects, by his regents and other enemies to their lawful sovereign, our great grandmother Queen Mary, of blessed and pious memory; wherein, under pretence of religion, they clothed the worst of treasons, factions, and usurpations, and made these laws, not against the enemies of God, but their own; which laws have been continued, of course, without design of executing them, or any of them, *ad terrorem* only, on supposition that the Papists, relying on an external power, were incapable of duty and true allegiance to their natural sovereigns and rightful monarchs; we, of our certain knowledge and long experience, know-

ing that the Catholics, as it is their principle to be good Christians, so it is to be dutiful subjects; and that they have likewise, on all occasions, shown themselves good and faithful subjects to us and our royal predecessors, &c.: Do therefore, with the consent of our Privy Council, by our sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, suspend, stop, and disable all laws or acts of parliament made or executed against any of our Roman Catholic subjects in any time past, to all intents and purposes, making void all prohibitions therein mentioned, pains or penalties therein ordained to be inflicted; so that they shall in all things be as free in all respects as any of our Protestant subjects whatsoever, not only to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices, and others which we shall think fit to bestow upon them in all time coming. And whereas the obedience of our subjects is due to us by their allegiance, and our sovereignty; and that no law, difference in religion, or other impediment whatsoever, can exempt the subjects from their native obligations to the Crown; and, considering that some oaths are capable of being wrested by men of sinister intentions, a practice in that kingdom as fatal to religion as loyalty: We therefore annul, and discharge all oaths whatsoever, by which any of our subjects are incapacitated from holding places or offices in our said kingdom, discharging the same to be taken or given in any time coming, without our special warrant and consent; and we do stop, disable, and dispense with all laws enjoining the said oaths, tests, or any of them, &c." Towards the conclusion, the King reiterates former promises in these words: — "For the encouragement of our Protestant bishops, and the regular clergy, and such as have hitherto lived orderly, we think fit to declare, that it never was our principle, nor will we suffer violence to be offered to any man's conscience, nor will we use force, or invincible necessity against any man on the account of his persuasion, nor the Protestant religion, but will protect our bishops and other ministers in their functions, rights, and properties, and all

our Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their Protestant religion in the churches.”

IX.

Magdalen College, Oxford.

THE following is a true statement of the conduct of the College in relation to the mandate. Before they proceeded to the election of a President, on the decease of Doctor Clarke, having been credibly informed that the King had granted letters mandatory in favour of Farmer, the Vice-President and Fellows, in a petition dated April 9. 1687, represented to His Majesty, that he was incapable by the college statutes of the place, and therefore prayed either to be left to a free election, or that a person might be recommended more serviceable to the King and the College. On the 11th of the same month, the mandate arrived recommending Farmer; when it was agreed by the Fellows to defer the consideration of the affair till the 13th, which was the day they had appointed for the election, conformably to the direction of the statutes. On the 13th, they determined that the election should be postponed till the next day, on account of their having a petition then lying before His Majesty. On the 14th, not having received an answer to their petition, they again resolved not to proceed to elect till the following day, that day being the last to which they could, consistently with the statutes, defer the election. On the 15th, Doctor Thomas Smith and Captain Bagshaw, two of the Fellows, acquainted the College, that they had been informed by the Earl of Sunderland, President of the Privy Council, to whom, on the 10th instant, the College petition had been delivered, together with a letter of the same import addressed to his Lordship the Bishop of Winchester, Visiter of the College, that His Majesty, having sent his letter to the College, expected to be obeyed. Dr. Aldworth, the Vice-President, as well as Dr. Fairfax, nephew of the Parliament's General,

the Lord Fairfax, and Drs. Smith and Pudsey, declared for a second address to the King; but all the others were for proceeding immediately to election. Accordingly, only two of the number, Charnock and Thompson, declared *viva voce* for Farmer; Mr., afterwards Dr. Hough, and Dr. Maynard, having been returned by the major part of the whole body of the Fellows to the thirteen senior Fellows, Hough was finally elected by a great majority of the thirteen. His election was according to the customary, although not essential, form confirmed by the Visiter on the 18th. Upon Lord Sunderland's requiring from the College an account of these proceedings, a statement of the case was drawn up, and, either on the 18th or 19th of the same month of April, transmitted to the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University, together with a letter requesting his Grace's interposition with the King. These papers are inserted in a contemporary relation of the proceedings against St. Mary Magdalen College in Oxon, (pp. 4. and 5.), commonly attributed to Dr. Aldworth, the then Vice-President of the College, the head of whose family, the present Lord Braybrooke has in his possession some of the Doctor's papers respecting this affair. It is proper to observe, that there is great reason to believe that the King was unacquainted with the answer given by Lord Sunderland to the petition, and, perhaps, at first with the petition itself.

X.

A Letter addressed by each deprived Fellow of Magdalen College to the King's Commissioners.

“ May it please your Lordships,

“ I do profess all duty to His Majesty, and respect to your Lordships; but beg leave to declare I think myself injured in your Lordships' proceedings, and therefore protest against them, and will use all just and legal means of being relieved.”

XI.

King James's Mandate to the Bishop of London, relative to the Case of Dr. Sharp.

RIGHT Reverend Father in God, we greet you well. Whereas we have been informed, and are fully satisfied, that Dr. John Sharp, Rector of the parish church of St. Giles in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, and in your diocese; notwithstanding our late letter to the Most Reverend Fathers in God the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and our directions concerning preachers, given at our Court at Whitehall, the 5th day of March, 1685, in the second year of our reign; yet he the said Dr. Sharp, in contempt of the said orders, hath, in some of the sermons he hath since preached, presumed to make unbecoming reflections, and to utter such expressions as were not fit or proper for him, endeavouring thereby to beget in the minds of his hearers an evil opinion of us and our government, by insinuating fears and jealousies, to dispose them to discontent, and to lead them into disobedience, schism, and rebellion; these are therefore to require and command you, immediately upon receipt hereof, forthwith to suspend him from further preaching in any church or chapel in your diocese, until he shall give us satisfaction, and our further pleasure known herein. And for so doing this shall be your warrant; and so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Windsor, the 14th day of June, 1686, in the second year of our reign.

XII.

Bishop of London's Explanation relative to the Case of Dr. Sharp.

I TOOK the best advice I could get concerning the suspension of Dr. Sharp, and was informed, that the letter

being directed to me as Bishop of London, to suspend a person under my jurisdiction; I was thereby therein to act as a judge, it being a judicial act that no person could by law be punished by suspension before he was called on, without being admitted to make his defence; I thought it, therefore, my duty forthwith humbly to represent so much to my Lord President, that so I might receive His Majesty's pleasure in that matter. Nevertheless, that I might obey His Majesty's commands as far as by law I could, I did then send for Dr. Sharp, and acquainted him with His Majesty's displeasure, and the occasion of it, by showing him His Majesty's letter; but he having never been called to answer any such matter, or make his defence, and he protesting his innocence, and likewise declaring himself most ready to give His Majesty full satisfaction therein; in order thereto, I advised him to forbear preaching until he had applied himself to His Majesty; and, at his request, I made him the bearer of a letter to my Lord President, waiting for His Majesty's further orders to proceed against him judicially, in case he should not at that time give His Majesty the satisfaction required; and the said Doctor hath not since preached within my diocese.

XIII.

The Earl of Sunderland's Letter in Justification of himself.

To comply with what you desire, I will explain some things which we talked of before I left England. I have been in a station of great noise, without power or advantage whilst I was in it, and to my ruin now I am out of it. I know I cannot justify myself by saying, though it is true, that I thought to have prevented much mischief; for when I found that I could not, I ought to have quitted the service; neither is it an excuse that I have got none of those things which usually engage them in public affairs. My quality is the same that it ever was, and my estate much worse, even ruined, though I was born to a very

considerable one, which I am ashamed to have spoiled, though not so much as if I had increased it by indirect means. But to go on to what you expect: the pretence to a dispensing power being not only the first thing which was much disliked since the death of the late King, but the foundation of all the rest, I ought to begin with that which I had so little to do with, that I never heard it spoken of till the time of Monmouth's rebellion, when that the King told some of the council, of which I was one, that he was resolved to give employments to Roman Catholics, it being fit that all persons should serve who could be useful, and on whom he might depend. I think every body advised him against it, but with little effect, as was soon seen: that party was so well pleased with what the King had done, that they persuaded him to mention it in his speech at the next meeting of the Parliament, which he did after many debates, whether it was proper or not; in all which I opposed it, as is known to very considerable persons, some of which were of another opinion, for I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give such offence to the Parliament, that it was thought necessary to prorogue it; after which the King fell immediately to the supporting the dispensing power, the most chimerical thing that was ever thought of, and must be so till the government here is as absolute as in Turkey, all power being included in that one. This is the sense I ever had of it, and, when I heard lawyers defend it, I never changed my opinion nor language; however it went on, most of the Judges being for it, and was the chief business of the state till it was looked on as settled. Then the Ecclesiastical Court was set up, in which there being so many considerable men of several kinds, I could have but a small part, and that after lawyers had told the King it was legal, and nothing like the High Commission Court. I can most truly say, and it is well known, that for a good while I defended Magdalen College purely by care and industry, and have hundreds of times begged of the King never to grant mandates, or to change any thing in the regular course of

ecclesiastical affairs, which he often thought reasonable, and then, by perpetual importunities, was prevailed upon against his own sense, which was the very case of Magdalen College, as of some others.

These things, which I endeavoured, though without success, drew upon me the anger and ill-will of many about the King. The next thing to be tried was to take off the penal laws and tests, so many having promised their concurrence towards it, that His Majesty thought it feasible, but he soon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the Catholics desire it might be dissolved, which I was so much against, that they complained of me to the King as a man who ruined all his designs, by opposing the only thing could carry them on, liberty of conscience being the foundation on which he was to build.

That was first offered at by the Lord Clifford, who by it had done the work in the late King's time, if it had not been for his weakness, and the weakness of his ministers; yet I hindered the dissolution for several weeks, by telling the King that the Parliament in being would do every thing he could desire but the taking off the penal laws and tests, or the allowing his dispensing power, and that any other Parliament, though such a one could be had as was proposed, would probably never repeal those laws, and, if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the support of the government, whatever exigency it might be in. At that time the King of Spain was sick, upon which I said often to the King, that, if he should die, it would be impossible for His Majesty to preserve the peace of Christendom; that a war must be expected, and such a one as would chiefly concern England; and that, if the present Parliament continued, he might be sure of all the help and service he could wish; but, in case he dissolved it, he must give over all thoughts of foreign affairs, for no other would ever assist him but on such terms as would ruin the monarchy: so that from abroad or at home he would be destroyed if the Parliament were broken, and

any accident should happen, of which there were many, to make the aid of his people necessary to him. This, and much more, I said to him several times privately, and in the hearing of others; but being overpowered, the Parliament were broke, the closeting went on, and a new one was to be chosen. Who was to get by closeting I need not say, but it was certainly not I, nor any of my friends; many of them suffered whom I would fain have saved, and yet I must confess, with grief, that when the King was resolved, and there was no remedy, I did not quit, as I ought to have done, but served on in order to the calling another Parliament. In the midst of all the preparations for it, and whilst the corporations were regulating, the King thought fit to order his declarations to be read in all churches, of which I most solemnly protest I never heard one word, till the King declared it in council: that drew on the petition of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Lords the Bishops, and their prosecution, which I was so openly against, that, by arguing continually to show the injustice and imprudence of it, I brought the fury of the Roman Catholics upon me to such a degree, and so unanimously, that I was just sinking, and I wish I had then sunk. But, whatever I did foolishly to preserve myself, I continued still to be the object of their hatred, and I resolved to serve the public as well as I could, which I am sure most of the considerable Protestants then at Court can testify, and so can one very eminent man of the country I would have persuaded to come into the business, which he might have done, to have helped me to resist the violence of those in power, but he despaired of being able to do any good, and therefore would not engage. Some time after came the first news of the Prince's designs, which were not then looked on as they have proved, nobody foreseeing the miracles he has done by his wonderful prudence, conduct, and courage; for the greatest thing which has been undertaken these thousand years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without virtues hardly to be imagined till seen nearer hand. Upon the first

thought of his coming, I laid hold of the opportunity to press the King to do several things which I would have had done sooner: the chief of which were to restore Magdalen College, and all the ecclesiastical preferments which had been diverted from what they were intended for; to take off my Lord Bishop of London's suspension; to put the counties into the same hands they were in some time before; to annul the Ecclesiastical Court, and to restore entirely all the corporations of England. These things were done effectually by the help of some about the King, and it was then thought I had destroyed myself by enraging again the whole Roman Catholic party to such a height as had not been seen. They dispersed libels of me every day; told the King that I betrayed him, that I ruined him, by persuading him to make such shameful condescensions, but most of all, by hindering the securing the chief of the disaffected nobility and gentry, which was proposed as a certain way to break all the Prince's measures; and, by advising His Majesty to call a free Parliament, and to depend upon that rather than upon any foreign assistance. It is true I did give him those counsels, which were called weak, to the last moment he suffered me in his service; then I was accused of holding correspondence with the Prince, and it was every where said amongst them, that no better could be expected from a man so related as I was to the Bedford and Leicester families, and so allied to Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Halifax. After this, accusations of high treason were brought against me, which, with some other reasons relating to affairs abroad, drew the King's displeasure upon me, so as to turn me out of all without any consideration; and yet I thought I escaped well, and expected nothing less than the loss of my head, as my Lord Middleton can tell, and, I believe, none about the Court thought otherwise, nor had it been otherwise if my disgrace had been deferred a day longer, all things being prepared for it. I was put out on the 27th of October, the Roman Catholics having been two months working the King up to it without intermission

besides the several attacks they had made upon me before, and the unusual assistance they obtained to do what they thought necessary for the carrying on their affairs, of which they never had greater hope than at that time, as may be remembered by any who were then at London. But you desired I would say something to you of Ireland, which I will do in very few words, but exactly true.

My Lord Tirconel has been so absolute there, that I never had the credit to make an ensign, or to keep one in, nor to preserve some of my friends, for which I was much concerned, from the least oppression and injustice, though I endeavoured it to the utmost of my power. But yet, with care and diligence, being upon the place, and he absent, I diverted the calling a Parliament there, which was designed to alter the acts of settlement. Chief Justice Nugent and Baron Rice were sent over with a draught of an act for that purpose, furnished with all the pressing arguments that could be thought on to persuade the King; I was offered 40,000*l.* for my concurrence, which I told to the King, and showed him at the same time the injustice of what was proposed to him, the prejudice it would be to that country, with so good success, that he resolved not to think of it that year, and perhaps never. This I was helped in by some friends, particularly my Lord Godolphin, who knows it to be true, and so do the Judges before named, and several others.

I cannot omit saying something of France, there having been so much talk of a league between the two Kings. I do protest I never knew of any, and if there were such a thing, it was carried on by other sort of men last summer. Indeed, French ships were offered to join with our fleet, and they were refused; since the noise of the Prince's design, more ships were offered, and it was agreed that they should be commanded, if ever desired. I opposed to death the accepting of them, as well as any assistance of men; and can say, most truly, that I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help of some Lords, with whom I consulted every day, and they with me, to prevent

what we thought would be of great prejudice, if not ruinous, to the nation; if the report is true, of men, ships, and money intended lately for England out of France, it was agreed upon since I was out of business, or without my knowledge; if it had been otherwise, I believe nobody thinks my degradation would have happened. My greatest misfortune has been to be thought the promoter of those things I opposed and detested, whilst some I could name have been the inventors and contrivers of what they have had the heart to lay upon others, and I was often foolishly willing to bear with what my master would have done, though I used all possible endeavours against it. I lie under many other misfortunes and afflictions extremely heavy, but I hope they have brought me to reflect upon the occasion of them,—the loose, negligent, unthinking life I have hitherto led, having been perpetually hurried away from all good thoughts by pleasure, idleness, the vanity of the court, or by business. I hope, I say, that I shall overcome all disorder my former life had brought upon me, and that I shall spend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God that he will please either to put an end to my sufferings, or give me strength to bear them, one of which he will certainly grant to such as rely on him, which I hope I do with the submission that becomes a good Christian. I would enlarge on this subject, but that I fear you might think something else to be the reason of it, besides the true sense of my faults, and that obliges me to restrain myself at present. I believe you will repent in having engaged me to give you this account, but I cannot forbear the doing of what you desire me.

XIV.

PRINCE George of Denmark was constantly in the habit, when hearing of the many secessions from the King to the Prince of Orange, of exclaiming, *Est il possible?* James, on being informed that the Prince had followed at length

the general movement, observed, "what is '*Est il possible!*' gone too?"

XV.

A List of such Members of the Convention as were for making the Prince of Orange only Regent of the Kingdom, and the Princess of Orange Queen.

Berks.

Lord Norris.
The Hon. Montague Bertie.

Bucks.

Sir Ralph Verny.

Cambridge.

Sir Levinus Benet, Bart.
Sir Robert Cotton.
Sir Robert Sawyer.

Cornwall.

Sir Bourcher Wray, Bart.
Fran. Roberts.
Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart.
Charles Godolphin.
Nich. Glyn.
John Tanner.
Alexander Pendarves.
James Pread.
John Rashleigh.
Fran. Vivian.
John Specot.
Sir Jos. Tredenham.
Hen. Seymour.
Sir John Coriton, Bart.
John Prideaux.

Cumberland.

Sir Christopher Musgrave, Bart.

Derby.

John Coke.

Devonshire.

Sir Edw. Seymour, Bart.
Christo. Bale.
Sir John Fowell, Bart.
Rawling Mallach.
William Cary.
Henry Notleigh.
Sir Arthur Chichester, Bart.
Edm. Walrond.
Will. Hayn.
Will. Coleman.

Dorsetshire.

Tho. Strangways.
John Pole.
Sir Robert Nappier, Bart.
Edw. Nicholas.
Rich. Fowns.
Will. Okeden.

Durham.

Will. Lampton.
Robert Byerly.
George Morland.

Gloucestershire.

Will. Cook.
Tho. Master.
Sir Fran. Russel, Bart.

Herefordshire.

Hen. Cornwall.

Huntingdonshire.

John Bigg.

Kent.

Sir John Banks, Bart.
 Sir Roger Twisden, Bart.
 Kaleb Banks.

Lancashire.

Francis Cholmondley.
 Sir Edward Chisnal.

Leicestershire.

Sir Tho. Halford, Bart.
 Tho. Babington.

Lincolnshire.

Charles Bertie.
 Sir John Brownlow, Bart.

Middlesex.

Sir Charles Gerrard, Bart.
 Ralph Hawtreay.

Monmouth.

Charles Marq. of Worcester.

Norfolk.

Sir William Cook, Bart.
 Sir Nevil Catlyn.
 Sir John Turner.
 Sir Fran. Guybon.

Northamptonshire.

Edw. Montague.
 Gilbert Dolben.
 Sir Justinian Isham, Bart.
 Richard Lord Wenman.

Northumberland.

Will. Foster.
 Philip Bickerstaff.
 Sir Ralph Car.
 Roger Fenwick.

Nottingham.

Will. Lord Eland.

Oxon.

Sir Robert Jenkinson, Bart.

Sir Tho. Clarges.

Hen. Bertie.
 Sir John Doily, Bart.

Rutland.

Sir Tho. Mackworth, Bart.

Salop.

Edw. Kynaston.
 Andrew Newport.
 Sir Fran. Edwards, Bart.
 Sir Edward Acton, Bart.
 George Weld.

Somerset.

Sir Rich. Hart.
 Sir John Knight.
 Edward Berkly.
 Sir Will. Basset.
 Sir Will. Portman, Bart.
 John Sanford.
 Sir Fran. War, Bart.
 Fran. Lutterel.
 Nathan Palmer.
 Sir Edward Wyndham, Bart.
 Will. Helyar.
 John Hunt.
 Tho. Saunders.

Southampton.

Fran. Morley.
 Sir Ben. Newland.
 Sir Robert Holms.
 Rich. Earl of Ranelagh.
 Tho. Done.
 Fran. Guin.
 William Etrick.
 John Pollen.

Staffordshire.

John Gray.
 Rob. Burdet.
 John Chetwind.
 Sir Hen. Gough.

Suffolk.

Sir John Cordell, Bart.

Sir John Rous, Bart.
 Sir John Barker, Bart.
 Tho. Glemham.
 Sir Hen. Johnson.
 William Johnson.
 Sir John Poley.
 Tho. Knyvet.
 Henry Pooley.
 Sir. Rob. Davers, Bart.
 Sir Tho. Harvey.

Surrey.

John Weston.
 White Tichburn.

Sussex.

Sir Will. Morley.
 John Alford.
 Charles Goring, Jun.
 Will. Morley.

Warwickshire.

Sir Richard Verry.
 Sir Geo. Cave, Bart.
 Will. Lord Digby.
 Will. Colemore.

Westmoreland.

Rich. Lowther.
 Will. Cheyne.

Wiltshire.

Edward Lord Cornbury.

Rob. Hyde.
 Richard Lewis.
 Peregrine Bertie.
 Hen. Chivers.
 Walter Grub.
 Charles Fox.
 Sir Edm. Warnford.
 John Dean.
 Sir John Ernle.
 Sir George Willoughby.

Worcestershire.

Hen. Parker.
 Sir John Matthews.

Yorkshire.

Viscount Dumblaine.
 Sir Jonathan Jennings.
 Christopher Tancred.

Brecon.

E. Jones, of Buckland.

Denbigh.

Sir Rich. Middleton, Bart.
 Edw. Brereton.

Glamorgan.

Tho. Mansell.

Pembroke.

Sir William Wogan.

XVI.

A Speech made by the Earl of Arran to the Scotch Nobility and Gentry, met together at the Council Chamber in Whitehall, on the Eighth of January 1688, about an Address to His Highness the Prince of Orange, to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom of Scotland.

MY LORDS,

I have all the honour and deference for the Prince of Orange imaginable. I think him a brave Prince, and that

we owe him great obligations in contributing so much for our delivery from Popery. But, while I pay him these praises, I cannot violate my duty to my master; I must distinguish between his Popery and his person. I dislike the one, but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the other, which makes it impossible for me to sign away that which I cannot forbear believing is the King my master's right. For his present absence from us, by being in France, can no more affect our duty than his longer absence from us in Scotland has done all this while.

My Lords,

The Prince in his paper desires our advice; mine is, that we should move His Highness to desire His Majesty to return and call a free Parliament, for the securing our religion and property according to the known laws of that kingdom, which, in my humble opinion, will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches.

XVII.

A Speech made by a Member of the Convention of the States in Scotland.

WE are now called together by His Highness the Prince of Orange, to consult and deliberate what methods will be most proper to secure our religion, laws, and liberties, in order to which the first thing that will fall under our consideration is the settling the sovereign power.

I take for granted, that you are fully convinced that King James VII., by his many violations of the fundamental laws, by his endeavouring to establish a despotic and arbitrary power, and introduce Popery (though he himself had confirmed all the laws that were enacted in the favour of the Protestant religion) has thereby subverted the constitution, and (that our miseries might have no redress from him) has left us in a time when we needed his protection most. The eyes of all Europe are upon us,

and it is in our power to make ourselves and our posterity either happy or miserable, by making a choice either to call back the said King James, and hazard once more all that men account dear to his mercy, or to settle the government on some other, under whom we may live quiet and peaceable lives, without the perpetual terror of being swallowed up by Popery and arbitrary government, which all good men hoped were now banished; and yet behold a new offspring is sprung up, which plead eagerly for both, though under the mistaken names of duty and allegiance. It is strange that any man can so far degenerate as to prefer slavery to liberty, and that they should be so much in love with chains, that when they were fairly shaken off, they should run furiously to be fettered again; as if the Ottoman and French government were so charming in our country, that we cannot live without it, though we have so lately groaned under the dismal burthen of it: and it might have been supposed, that even those who had been instrumental in enslaving their fellow brethren, and were grown fat with sucking the nation's blood, would have taken another method to reconcile themselves, than by persuading us to purchase their safety at so vast an expense as the ruin of more than three parts of the nation will necessarily amount to.

If we do but a little reflect on the motives which these men (blinded by self-interest) made use of to delude the nation into a security that wanted very little of proving fatal to it, and compare them with the strong reasons we have to dissuade us from being so imposed on, they will be found so weak and impertinent, that we must judge it next to impossibility to suffer ourselves to be twice deceived. But if the experience of our former miseries, so lately hanging over our heads (the very thoughts of renewing which make all good men to tremble) has not made us wiser, and be not of efficacy enough to deter us from venturing another shipwreck, and exposing all again to the discretion of Roman Catholics, it is more than probable that God has abandoned us, and given us up to believe strong delusions.

First, they will endeavour to persuade us that Kings are excused from punishments here on earth, and nothing they do can be quarrelled with by their subjects: which indeed might, with some reason, be urged among the Turks, who reserve nothing from the power of their Sultans, and where it is death to dispute his commands, though never so arbitrary and tyrannical. But with what impudence can such stuff be imposed on us, who never admit our Kings to the government till they swear to rule us according to law and no otherwise? The laws are the only security we have for our lives and properties, which, if our Sovereign subvert, subjects cannot be blamed for making use of the ordinary means to preserve them; and, since that cannot be done without withdrawing obedience from such a magistrate as goes about to destroy them, such an act cannot properly be said to punish him, because we take nothing from him to which he has a just claim, but only shun the occasion of making ourselves miserable. The speculative doctrine of passive obedience has done too much mischief among us, and what has befallen the King may be justly imputed to it; for the believing that, without opposition, he might do what he pleased, encouraged him to take such measures as have drawn all these misfortunes on him.

Secondly, others are so fond as to believe that we may be secure in calling the King back, provided they so limit him that it will not be in his power to hurt us. These men do not consider how small a compliment this is to a man of the King's temper, from an absolute Prince, as he was pleased to fancy himself, to content himself with the bare title of a King; and how insupportable the change must be, if, from being master of all, he must force himself to comply with a thousand masters, and see his throne become his prison. But how airy is it to fancy that any restrictions of our contrivance can bind the King? For it is most certain they can never be voluntary; and what is constrained and done by force is by law declared to be void and null: to whose assistance the Pope's dispensing

power being joined, would quickly blow off these Samson cords, and the Royal power would again revive in all its vigour and lustre.

Thirdly, the King is of a religion that has, in a famous council, decreed that no faith is to be kept with heretics, much less with subjects whom he looks upon as so many rebels, and will not miss to treat them as such whenever they give him the opportunity of doing it; for his greatest admirers do no wrong to that height of idolatry, to imagine him so much an angel as not to take all methods to revenge so great an affront, and secure himself, at our cost, from such a treatment for the future; the apprehensions of which resentment will strike such terror in men's minds, that nothing will be capable to divert them from offering all for an atonement, and Popery and slavery will be thought a good bargain if they can but save their lives. Then we may lament our miseries, but it will not be in our power to help them; for a Prince of Orange is not always ready to rescue us, with such vast expense and so great hazard to his person; and, if our madness hurry us so far, we deserve rather his pity than his resentment.

Fourthly, what arguments has the King given since he left us, to persuade us he will be more faithful, in observing his words and oaths, than hitherto he has been? Does he not, in a letter lately printed here, expressly say he has ruled so as to give no occasion of complaint to any of his subjects? Is not the same letter signed by one who sacrificed both conscience and honour to interest, whose pernicious and headstrong counsels have posted him to his ruin, though all that has been done cannot make him sensible of it? Sure the reducing heretics to the See of Rome is not less meritorious than before, nor King James VII. by breathing the French air become less bigot? It were a dream to fancy it: for so long as the Vatican thunders excommunications against all such as do not use their utmost endeavours to extirpate heresy, a Roman Catholic must have no religion at all if that be not terrible to him.

The fourth argument they made use of to persuade such as are, and shall be, chosen members of the convention, that the peace and happiness of the nation cannot be otherwise secured, nor factions or divisions extinguished. But what factions do you observe, but such as they themselves do foment on purpose to disturb our harmony? All which would immediately die, if the government were once settled on those who deserve it best; for then, if these fops continued still fond of Popery and tyranny, they would be chastised as disturbers of the public peace. The argument may very justly be retorted; for, if the King return, we will burst out into a flame, and England, which has already declared, will quickly be on our top, an enemy too potent and too numerous for us, though we were all united; besides the danger to which such a procedure will expose us, we cut off all hopes of a union with that nation, and thereby deprive ourselves of an unspeakable advantage, which would redound to all sorts of people, and would be the only means to support an impoverished and sinking nation. Neither is this the only inconveniency, though it be a very great one; for if we state ourselves in opposition to England, by restoring the King whom they rejected, it is not to be doubted but he will use his utmost endeavour to recover that kingdom, the loss of which is so considerable. Now, seeing it were vain to suppose that the Scots alone were able to second his desires, he must needs have recourse to the French and Irish, whose religion will procure a more entire confidence than His Majesty can repose in any others. These, therefore, must be received into our bosom; and, because Scotland is the most proper place for invading England, it must be the scene of all the blood and confusion that this melancholy thought gives us a prospect of. And what treatment can such sham Protestants expect from these, who otherwise would have become their friends and allies? And what figure will they pretend to make when they set up for a separate interest from all the confederate Protestants in the world besides?

The happy success the Prince's enterprise has met with has made a considerable alteration in the affairs of Europe : for the great enemy of the Protestants, and even of Christianity itself, who had proposed nothing less to himself than an universal monarchy, whom the strictest leagues and contracts cannot bind, but, without regard to God or man, threatens all his neighbours with utter destruction ; by the scene's being changed among us, is so far humbled, that, from a proud and insulting enemy, he is become a suppliant for peace ; well foreseeing, that if Britain join with those other Princes, whom his insolence, cruelty, and avarice have so justly armed against him, his ruin is inevitable : so that, if we have not soul enough to enjoy this great blessing, and can easily part with the glory of being once more the arbiters of Europe, let us at least have so much Christian love and charity for the neighbouring nations of our own persuasion, as not to expose them to a necessary participation of these plagues, which our common enemies are preparing for us, and which will certainly terminate in our destruction.

Lastly, I beseech you to consider what persons they are who would instil this poison in you, and you will find them of three kinds : first, those who, postponing the common good of the nation, are wholly actuated by self-interest, considering that in a government where justice and mercy equally flourish, virtue and merit, not villany, will be rewarded. Secondly, they who are ignorant of the nature of government, and were never at the pains to inform themselves what measures the laws of nature and nations have set to men's obedience, but are angry at every thing that thwarts their wild notions, and will admit of nothing, though never so reasonable and convincing, if their dull capacities cannot reach it. The third sort are such as have been instrumental in the enslaving their country, and are afraid, if they be called to an account, they may be brought to suffer condign punishment : if such cannot succeed in their design, they at least hope to be overlooked in a general confusion, so they leave nothing unessayed that

may tend to their own safety; and, if heaven fail them, they summon hell to their aid: not love to their Prince, but mere ambition and interest, drives these criminals to such attempts, neither are they much to blame if they are at such pains to sow divisions among us. But no person of wit and judgment, nor any good man that is truly Protestant, and minds the good of his country, will suffer himself to be so grossly imposed on by such firebrands, who would build their future imaginary greatness on the ruin of our religion, laws, and country.

XVIII.

*A Letter from Father Peters, Jesuit Almoner to the King of England, to the Rev. Father La Chaise, Confessor to the Most Christian King, touching the present state of affairs in England.**

MOST REVEREND FATHER,

If I have failed for the last fifteen days to obey your order, it was not for want of affection, but health, that occasioned the neglect, for which I shall endeavour to make amends by the length of this. I shall begin where my former letter left off, and I shall tell you that since the appearance of a letter in this town, written by the Prime Minister of Holland, which declares the intention of the Prince and Princess of Orange, in relation to the repealing of the test, or (to speak more properly) their aversion to it. This letter has produced very ill effects among the heretics, whom, at the return of some of our Fathers from those parts, we had persuaded that the Princess would comply with every thing relating to the test, that the King would propose to the next Parliament (in case he should call one), to which I do not find His Majesty much inclined: but the coming of this letter (of which I have enclosed a copy)

* The original letter is in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, in the library at Stowe.

has served for nothing but to encourage the obstinate in their aversion to this matter. The Queen, as well as myself, was of opinion against sending any letter to the Hague upon the subject, but rather that some person able to discharge and to persuade should have been sent thither: for all such letters, when they are not grateful, produce bad effects: that which is spoken face to face is not so easily divulged, nor anything is discovered to the vulgar but what we have a mind the people should know, and I believe your Reverence will concur with me in this opinion.

This letter has extremely provoked the King, who is of a temper not to bear a refusal, and who has not been used to have his will contradicted; and I believe this very affront has hastened his resolution of recalling the English regiments in Holland. I showed that part of the letter, that related to the opinion of His Most Christian Majesty on the subject, which His Majesty well approved of: we are intent to know the success of the affair, and what answer the States will give. The King changes as many heretic officers as he can, to put Catholics in their places, but the misfortune is that we want Catholic officers to supply them; and therefore if you know any such of our nation in France, you will do the King a pleasure to persuade them to come over, and they shall be certain of employment either in the old troops or in the new that are speedily to be raised, for which by this, my letter, I pass my word. Our Fathers are continually employed to convert the officers, but their obstinacy is such that, for one that turns, there are five that had rather quit their commands; but there being already too many malcontents (whose party already is but too great), the King has need of all his prudence and temper to manage this great affair, and bring it to that great perfection we hope to see it in ere long. All that I can assure you is, that there shall be no neglect in the Queen, who labours night and day, with inexpressible diligence, for the propagation of the Faith, and with the zeal of a holy Princess: the Queen Dowager is not so earnest, and fear makes her retire to

Portugal to spend the remainder of her days in devotion. She has already asked the King leave, who has not only granted it, but also promised that she shall have her pension punctually paid; and that, during her life, her servants that she leaves behind shall have the same wages as if they were in waiting. She stays but for a proper season to embark for Lisbon, and to live there free from all storms.

As to the Queen's being with child, that great concern goes on as we would wish, notwithstanding all the satirical discourses of the heretics, who content themselves to vent their passion in libels, which at night they dispose of in the streets or fix to the walls; there was one lately found on the pillars of a church, that imported that on such a day thanks would be given to God of the Queen's being great of a cushion. If one of these pasquill makers could be discovered, he would have but an ill time of it, and should be made to take his last farewell at Tyburn. You will agree with me (Most Rev. Father) that we have done a great thing by introducing Mrs. Collier unto the Queen; this woman is totally devoted to our society, and zealous for the Catholic religion. I will send you an account of the progress of this affair, and will use the cipher you sent me, which I think is admirable. I can send you nothing certain of the Prince and Princess of Denmark: he is a Prince with whom I cannot discourse about religion. Luther was never more earnest than this Prince. 'Tis for this reason that the King (who does not love to be denied) never yet pressed him in that matter, His Majesty thinking that we Fathers should forbear before he undertakes to speak to him: but this Prince (as of all his nation) has naturally an aversion to our society, and this antipathy does much obstruct the progress of our affairs, and it would be unreasonable to complain thereof to the King at present, to trouble him, though he has an entire confidence in us, and esteems and looks upon our Fathers as the Apostles of the Island.

I mention nothing particular of Scotland, but desire that

Father Thomas may give your Reverend Fathership an account thereof.

As for Ireland, the country is already all Catholic, yea, all the militia are so: the Viceroy merits great praise. One may give him this honour, that he is a son worthy our society, and I hope will participate of its merits. He informed me he has already wrote to your Reverendship of these matters, how things go there. Some Catholic regiments from those parts will speedily be sent for over for the King's Guards, His Majesty being resolved to trust them rather than others, and may do it much better in case of any popular commotion, against which we ought to secure ourselves the best we can. His Majesty does us the honour to visit our College often, and is most pleased when we present him with some new-converted scholar, whom he encourageth with his gracious promises. I have no expressions sufficient to tell you with what devotion His Majesty communicated the last collar days, and a heretic cannot better make his court to him than by turning to the Catholic faith. He desires that all the religious, of what order soever they be, do make open profession, as he does, not only of the Catholic religion, but also of your order, not at all approving that Priests or religious should at all conceal themselves out of fear; and he has told them that he will have them wear the habit of a religious, and that he will take care to defend them from affronts; and the people are already accustomed to it, and we begin to celebrate funerals with the same ceremonies as in France, and 't is almost a miracle to see that nobody speaks a word against it, no not so much as the Ministers in their pulpits, in so good order has the King managed these matters. Many English heretics resort often to our sermons, and I have recommended to our Fathers to preach now in the beginning as little as they can of controversy, because that provokes, but to represent to them the beauty and antiquity of our Catholic religion, that they may be convinced that all that has been said and preached to them, and their reflections concerning it, has been all scandal; for I find,

as the Apostle says, they may be nourished with milk, not being able to bear strong meat.

Many have desired me to give them some of our prayers, and even the Holy Mass in English, which I intend to do, to satisfy the meaner sort (of which the greater part do not understand Latin); but to take away from the new converts their Testaments is a matter of moment, and that we deny them not at the beginning: we must permit them to them for a time, till they part with them of themselves. I should need (Reverend Father) your counsel upon this point, and not in this only, but in a great many other matters that daily press me; for you may easily believe I have often more business than I can well despatch, and one must walk with so much circumspection and precaution, that I have often need of your *Fathership's* wise counsel.

The Bishop of Oxon has not yet openly declared himself: the great obstacle is his wife, which he cannot rid himself of, his design being to continue Bishop and only to change communion, and 't is not doubted but the King will permit, and our Holy Father confirm; so I cannot see how he can be farther useful to us, in the religion in which he is in yet, because he is suspected, and is of no esteem among the heretics of the English Church; nor do I believe that the example of his conversion is likely to draw many others after him, because he declared himself so suddenly: if he had believed my counsel, which was to temporise some time longer, he would have done better, but 't is his temper, or rather his zeal, that hurried him. There are two other Prelates that will do no less than he, but they hold off a little to see how they may be serviceable, and produce more fruit while they continue undiscovered. That which does us most harm with the Lords and great men is the apprehension of a heretic successor; for a Lord told me lately, assure me of a Catholic successor, and I will assure you that I and my family will be so too. To this purpose the Queen's happy delivery will be of great moment; our zealous Catholics do already lay two to

one that it will be a Prince. God does nothing by halves; every day masses are said on this occasion. I have gained a great point in persuading the King to place our Fathers in Magdalen College, in Oxford, who will be able to introduce the young scholars in the Roman Catholic religion. I rely much on Father Fairfax, to whom I have given necessary information how he ought to govern himself with the heretical youth, and to take care that, in the beginning, he speak nothing to them that may terrify. And as I told you a religious (an ecclesiastic) had need have great prudence at this time, that the King may hear of no complaints that may displease him; therefore, we dare not at present do all we shall be able to do hereafter, for fear of too much alarming the *mobile*. I like well that Father Ellis goes to stay some months at the Hague, *incognito*, under pretence of soliciting for a place, which is not soon to be got there, and has letters given him to some of the party. Father Smith, that is there now, by reason of his great age, not being able to do all he ought and wishes to do, is also too well known there. I shall often impart to you what I shall learn from those quarters, of which I shall receive weekly something of moment, so long as the two parties are in so bad intelligence together, as at present they are. For my part, to speak freely of this topic to the Reverend Father Sh., I am of opinion we should rather endeavour to moderate than aggravate differences between them, though I know I do not in this matter altogether concur with the sense of the French Ambassador, who considers wholly his master's interest; but we are well satisfied to take other measures, and such, perhaps, as may not always agree with the interest of France in this matter. And I think the aggravating the breach at present to be also prejudicial to the Catholic religion itself: for the great design we have so long aimed at is, according to the example of France, to take from the heretics all hopes of a leader, or any other protection but what they must expect from their own King, which they finding themselves exposed to his pleasure, will the more readily subscribe to his will. But this

misunderstanding between us will occasion an opportunity to the heretics to set up the Prince of Orange for their chief: and let me assure you (not to deceive ourselves) the Religions of England, as well as the Presbyterians themselves, regard the Prince of Orange as their master; and his person is already so powerful in both nations, that 't will appear terrible to any thinking person, should things come to extremity, which may never happen, if matters are not pushed on too far, but managed with moderation. And I desire, therefore, with great deference to your better judgment in this matter, that it might be hinted to His Christian Majesty as opportunity should serve, and am sensible it must be done with very great caution.

I can tell you nothing at present of the certainty of calling a Parliament; it requires so many things to be considered of, and so many measures to be taken, that His Majesty ought to be well assured of the success before he convenes them together.

I am not of that opinion with many other Catholics, who say that by calling them the King hazards nothing; for if they will not answer his ends, he needs only prorogue them, as is usually done. But 't is my opinion (and the sense of many others) that His Majesty hazards much; for if it should unfortunately happen that they should, in their assembly, refuse to comply with His Majesty's desires, it may be long enough before he compasses his ends by way of Parliament, and perhaps never: and there remains no expedient or other means but by violence to execute the orders of his secret council, which must must be supported by his army, that under the pretence of encamping may be called together with the least jealousy or suspicion.

So you see (Most Reverend Father) that we do not want work in these quarters, and that I must be supplied with your good prayers, which I beg of you, and from all those of our society. His Majesty is so desirous that things may be done in order and upon a sure foundation, so as to be more lasting, that he makes great application in the Shires and Corporation Towns, to get such persons

chosen for the Parliament as may be favourable to his ends, of which he may be sure before the time to debate; and the King will make them promise so firmly, and exact such precaution from them in writing, that they shall not be able to go back, unless they thereby draw upon themselves His Majesty's utmost displeasure, and make them feel the utmost of his resentments.

And I have here enclosed some effects of His Majesty's endeavours, which is an address that the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Burgesses of Newcastle, in the county of Stafford, have presented to the King; and the Gazette wherein this corporation, as well as Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and others, in their addresses, promise to choose such Members as will comply with His Majesty's desires. If all cities were in as perfect obedience as this, we should soon have a Parliament called, which the Catholics and Non-Conformists expect with great impatience; but, since this cannot be said of many of them, the King's secret council think good to wait for the Queen's delivery, that they may see a successor, and who may have need of the whole protection of the Most Christian King to support him and maintain his rights, and by the grace of God we hope that the Prince, treading in his father's steps, may prove a worthy son of our society, like his father, who thinks it no disgrace to be so called.

As to other things (Most Reverend Father) our Fathers with me, as well as generally all the Catholics, with what grief do we hear of the disunion between His Holiness and the Most Christian King! How does my head, in imitation of the Holy Prophet, become a spring of tears to lament night and day the schism that I foresee coming into the Church! Is it possible that the Holy Society should not stand in the breach, and prevent the mischief that this difference may occasion in the Church, and that nobody can reconcile and judge the priesthood and the people, the father and the son, the eldest son of the Church, with the Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth? What a desolation, and what advantage to the heretics must this occasion! They

already bid us convert the children of the family, before we begin to convert strangers. And I must, with grief, confess they have but too much reason for what they say; and therefore, if there do not come present assistance from above, I foresee this affair will occasion great prejudice in the north. Nor have we any hopes that His British Majesty will interest himself herein openly, he receiving so little satisfaction from His Holiness in some of his demands made by his Ambassador at Rome, which (merrily speaking) ought to have been granted so great a King, who first made the step which his predecessors for a long time were not willing to undertake, in sending his Ambassador of obedience to Rome; yet, for all that, our Holy Father had not any particular consideration of this submission and filial obedience: so that I dare not mention this matter but by way of discourse, daily expecting that of himself he will be making some proposals there. I doubt not (Rev. Father) of your constant endeavours to accomplish this matter, whereby to take away from heretics (more especially the Hugonots of France) this occasion to laugh at and deride us. And we should think the change much for the worse, if, instead of the French King's going to Geneva, he should march to Rome, what may all this come to? Especially since the Marquis of Lavardin has been so passionate in his discourse of the Cardinals Chancellors, as to call them impertinents: so far to forget his duty and reverence to our Holy Father, the Pope himself, as to say he doubted, as the heretics so confidently discourse in these parts. I have caused some masses of the Holy Ghost to be said, that God would be pleased to inspire the discontented parties with the spirit of peace and concord. You did acquaint me some time since that Madame Maintenon did take upon her the title of daughter of our society, by virtue whereof you may command by virtue of obedience to use her credit and eloquence with the King, to incline him to an accommodation in this matter.

In the mean time, I hear that at Rome many eminent persons endeavour the same thing with His Holiness, who

says he cannot and ought not to recede from what he has done, otherwise it were in effect to submit to the article made in France with the Clergy in 1682, and consequently of too great moment to recant, and therefore a submission ought to come from the son and not from the father. I recommend myself (Reverend Father) to your prayers and blessing, desiring you will continue to supply me with your salvatory counsels.

Yours, &c.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street Square.

~~480 OCT 22~~



FEB 18 1943

UNIV OF MICH.
LIBRARY

